

THE STATE OF ENGLAND IN 1685

(THE THIRD CHAPTER OF
MACAULAY'S HISTORY)

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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50 OLD BAILEY LONDON
GLASGOW AND BOMBAY

PREFACE

In preparing an edition of any classic for the use of students the question of how much help to give in the way of explanation is always a difficult one, especially in the case of a text which has received little or no attention from previous editors. In this volume, while it has been desired to avoid any excess of annotation, it has been felt advisable to explain what a good many will not know rather than to leave unexplained what a good many may know. All boys do not know the same things; the boy who does not need to be told when Chaucer lived may not have a clear idea of the whereabouts of Bokhara; and though neither piece of information can be said to be necessary for realizing the condition of England in 1685, the point of Macaulay's remarks on the matter will be missed unless each is known. It may be added that in preparing the Notes the needs of students in the Colonies and in India have been kept in mind.

I wish to express my gratitude to many friends who have assisted in clearing up some of the more obscure allusions; and in particular to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Trevelyan, the nephew and biographer of Lord Macaulay,

who has kindly sent me information which adds some interesting touches to what was already stated in the Life of his uncle; to the Rev. H. V. Taylor, M.A., who has read through the proofs of the Notes and has made many helpful suggestions; and to the compiler of the Index, who has also given valuable assistance in other parts of the work.

H. C. N.

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INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF MACAULAY

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born on the 25th of October, 1800. He was therefore five years younger than Carlyle and nine years older than Tennyson. He was the eldest child of Zachary Macaulay, one of the chief workers in the cause of the abolition of slavery. His early years were spent in a house at Clapham, near to the Common, which, with its "gorse bushes, and poplar groves, and gravel-pits, and ponds great and small, was to little Tom Macaulay a region of inexhaustible romance and mystery. He explored its recesses; he composed and almost believed, its legends" (Trevelyan, *Life*, chap. i). From the age of three he was devoted to books, and the oddest stories of his precocity have been handed down. Mrs. Hannah More, a noted authoress in her day, called at his father's house, "and was met by a fair, pretty, slight child, with abundance of light hair, about four years of age, who came to the front door to receive her, and tell her that his parents were out, but that if she would be good enough to come in he would bring her a glass of old spirits; a proposition which greatly startled the good lady, who had never aspired beyond cowslip wine. When questioned as to what he knew about old spirits, he could only say that Robinson Crusoe often had some." About this time his father took him to the house where Horace Walpole had lived. "After some time had been spent among the wonders of the Orford collection, of which he ever after carried a catalogue in his head, a servant, who was waiting upon the company in the great gallery,

spilt some hot coffee over his legs. The hostess was all kindness and compassion, and when, after a while, she asked how he was feeling, the little fellow looked up in her face and replied: "Thank you, madam, the agony is abated" (*Ibid.*). But in all this there was no affectation, for he was as simple and natural and merry a child as ever lived. It was the outcome of his extraordinary mental gifts, of which he was altogether unconscious, for his parents, with a rare wisdom, refrained from showing off his cleverness, or even speaking about it in his presence. Before he was eight years old he had written a Compendium of Universal History, and a number of poems, some of the latter inspired by Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which he knew by heart.

At the age of twelve he was sent to a small private school near Cambridge, where he laid a good foundation of classical scholarship, and from there he passed on to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he revelled in the opportunities for study and the intellectual companionship that the University afforded. He soon began to make his mark in literature. Among his contributions to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* are the poems *Ivry* and *The Battle of Naseby*; but it was his article on Milton in the *Edinburgh Review*, written when he was twenty-five years of age, that brought him fame. "In comprehensiveness of knowledge," says Dean Milman, "in the originality and boldness of his views, in mastery over the whole history and the life of the eventful times of Milton, in variety and felicity of illustration, in vigour, fulness, and vivacity of style, he seemed to make an epoch and a revolution in review-writing." He was called to the bar, but practised very little. His interests were in literature and politics: one is inclined to wish that it had been literature without politics, for politics are responsible for the unfinished condition of the History. He entered Parliament at the age of thirty, and soon came to the front. His speech on the Reform Bill in March, 1831, was a great triumph. "When he sat down, the Speaker sent for him, and told him that in all his prolonged experience he had never seen the House in such a state of excitement." Three

years later he was offered a seat on the Supreme Council of India. The post carried a salary of £10,000 a year, and, mainly for the sake of his family, which he had been helping to support for some years, he accepted it. He sailed in February, 1834, and was away for rather more than four years (See Appendix I). He left behind him in India a monument of his industry and ability in the Penal Code. So high an authority as Sir James Stephen, in writing of the way in which the Code was framed, says: "He must have possessed the gift of going at once to the very root of the matter, and of sifting the corn from the chaff, to a most unusual degree; for his Draft gives the substance of the criminal law of England, down to its minute working details, in a compass which, by comparison with the original, may be regarded as almost absurdly small. The Indian Penal Code is to the English criminal law what a manufactured article ready for use is to the materials out of which it is made." All this time, and indeed throughout his life, he was reading enormously. In a letter written from Calcutta in December, 1835, he says: "During the last thirteen months I have read *Æschylus* twice; *Sophocles* twice; *Euripides* once; *Pindar* twice; *Callimachus* . . . *Herodotus*; *Thucydides*; almost all *Xenophon's* works; almost all *Plato* . . ." and so on, giving in all the names of thirty classical authors whose works he had read during that time, the six that were not read in full being balanced by seven that were read through twice. In the following July, while his Greek and Latin studies are still going on, he writes: "I read in the evenings a great deal of English, French, and Italian, and a little Spanish. I have picked up Portuguese enough to read *Camoens* with care." His wonderful power of memory is well known. He once, in response to a challenge, sat down and wrote out the complete list of the Senior Wranglers at Cambridge for the previous hundred years, with their dates and colleges. "On another occasion Sir David [Dundas] asked: 'Macaulay, do you know your Popes?' 'No,' was the answer; 'I always get wrong among the Innocents'. 'But can you say your Archbishops of Canter-

bury?' 'Any fool,' said Macaulay, 'could say his Archbishops of Canterbury backwards'; and he went off at score, drawing breath only once in order to remark on the oddity of there having been both an Archbishop Sancroft and an Archbishop Bancroft, until Sir David stopped him at Cranmer" (Trevelyan, *Life*, chap. xi).

Soon after his return to England he re-entered Parliament, and in 1840 became Secretary at War in Lord Melbourne's ministry, so that the History, which he had already planned out, had to be laid aside. The ministry, whose position was precarious when he joined it, was defeated in the following year, and Macaulay, while retaining his seat for Edinburgh, was free for some years from the cares of office. From the time of his first great success he had been a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, but the History now began to absorb most of his energy, and when, in the general election of 1847, he was defeated at Edinburgh, he retired for a time from public life in order to be able to give himself more completely to his great work. The first two volumes were published in 1848, and at once scored a brilliant success. In 1852 the electors of Edinburgh did great honour to themselves and to Macaulay by returning him at the top of the poll, without his having made a single speech or written a single line on his own behalf. Though he never again held office his influence was very great, and whenever he rose to speak in Parliament the House filled at once. Early in 1856 he resigned his seat, and in the following year was raised to the Peerage. He devoted all his remaining strength, which had been somewhat impaired by hard and unceasing work, to the History, but it was still far from complete when, in December, 1859 he died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

2. THE HISTORY

The idea of writing his History occurred to Macaulay while he was in India. In a letter dated from Calcutta on December 30, 1835, he says: "What my course of life will

be when I return to England is very doubtful. But I am more than half determined to abandon politics, and to give myself wholly to letters; to undertake some great historical work which may be at once the business and the amusement of my life." And he goes on to discuss, in a passage of great interest, but too long for quotation in full, the relative advantages of literature and politics. "I comprehend perfectly how a man who can debate, but who would make a very indifferent figure as a contributor to an annual or a magazine . . . should take the only line by which he can attain distinction. But that a man before whom the two paths of literature and politics lie open, and who might hope for eminence in either, should choose politics and quit literature, seems to me madness. On the one side is health, leisure, peace of mind, the search after truth, and all the enjoyments of friendship and conversation. On the other side is almost certain ruin to the constitution, constant labour, constant anxiety. . . . But these," he added, "are meditations in a quiet garden, situated far beyond the contagious influence of English faction. What I might feel if I again saw Downing Street and Palace Yard¹ is another question."

And when he returned home it proved to be as this last sentence foreshadowed. His philosophic Indian attitude soon slipped away from him, and he allowed himself to be drawn again into the dust and din of the political battle, not abandoning his History, but seriously diminishing the time and energy that he had to devote to it.

The course of the work (with its interruptions) was briefly as follows. A beginning was made during the homeward voyage from India, when, as we now learn, he wrote the characters of some of the leading actors (see Appendix I); so that he had by this time evidently decided upon the period with which he would deal. He reached England in June, 1838, and in the following October went to Italy and spent the winter there. On coming back he set seriously to work. In his journal for March 9, 1839, he notes: "I began my History with a sketch of the early revolutions of England.

¹ The approach to the Houses of Parliament.

Pretty well; but a little too stately and rhetorical." But the counter-attraction soon made itself felt. He was, as he wrote to a friend, "not unwilling to engage in the Parliamentary battle if a fair opportunity should offer", and his party was anxious to have the support of so brilliant a speaker. In May a vacancy occurred at Edinburgh; he was elected without opposition, and in the following September joined the ministry as Secretary at War, more from a chivalrous desire to help a Government which was in difficulties than because office had much attraction for him. But happily the ministry was too weak to be saved; the general election of 1841 left them in the minority, and in August of that year Macaulay was once more free to go on with his great work. For the next six years he remained in Parliament as a private member, and gave his leisure time to literature, but at the election of July, 1847, he lost his seat at Edinburgh. He had many invitations to stand for other constituencies, but wisely determined to retire from public life and to devote himself to the History. In August, 1848, he wrote: "I am working intensely, and, I hope, not unsuccessfully. My third chapter, which is the most difficult part of my task, is done, and, I think, not ill done." This chapter appears to have been written later than the rest of the first two volumes, for by this time most of the manuscript was in the hands of the printer. On October 24th he wrote: "I work with scarcely any intermission from seven in the morning to seven in the afternoon, and shall probably continue to do so during the next ten days. Then my labours will become lighter, and in about three weeks will completely cease. There will still be a fortnight before publication. I have armed myself with all my philosophy for the event of a failure. . . . When I compare my book with what I imagine history ought to be, I feel dejected and ashamed; but when I compare it with some histories which have a high repute, I feel reassured." On the 29th of November, 1848, the first two volumes, comprising chapters one to ten, were published. They were received with an enthusiasm that was almost without precedent. The first edition of three thousand copies was sold out in ten

days, and the number had gone up to thirteen thousand in less than four months.

He might now have fairly considered that he had earned a rest, but instead of taking it he began almost at once on the next part of his work. On February 3, 1849, he notes in his journal: "I began my second part, and wrote two foolscap sheets". Later in the year he visited Glencoe and Londonderry in order that he might be able to picture more vividly the events connected with them. His biographer mentions that "the notes made during his fortnight's tour through the scenes of the Irish war are equal in bulk to a first-class article in the *Edinburgh* or *Quarterly Reviews*. He gives four closely-written folio pages to the Boyne and six to Londonderry." The immense amount of labour that he bestowed upon making his work as complete and accurate as possible is well described by Thackeray. "Take at hazard," he says, "any three pages of the *Essays* or *History*, and, glimmering below the stream of the narrative, you, an average reader, see one, two, three, a half-score of allusions to other historic facts, characters, literature, poetry, with which you are acquainted. Your neighbour, who has *his* reading and his little stock of literature stowed away in his mind, shall detect more points, allusions, happy touches, indicating not only the prodigious memory and vast learning of this master, but the wonderful industry, the honest, humble, previous toil of this great scholar. He reads twenty books to write a sentence; he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description." He had now probably given up all intention of re-entering the political arena; in January, 1852, he refused the offer of a seat in the cabinet; but in the following June the people of Edinburgh, repenting of their former rejection of him, gave him such a remarkable proof of their confidence that he felt it a matter of duty to agree to their request, and he sat in Parliament as their representative until the beginning of 1856, when the state of his health compelled him to resign. During this time he completed the third and fourth volumes of the *History*, bringing the work down to the end of the twentieth chapter. This time the

He actually wrote the history of about seventeen years,¹ and this filled the five volumes into which he had expected to get the history of double that time. He meant to write an account of seven reigns; he actually wrote the account of two—James II and William III. In the first chapter he gives a rapid sketch of events from the Roman occupation of Britain to the Restoration; in the second he tells the story of the reign of Charles II; the third, which is given in this volume, is a picture of England as it was in the year 1685. The History proper begins with the fourth chapter, which opens with the famous description of the death of Charles II, and then runs on continuously to within two or three months of the end of William the Third's reign, a short account of his death being appended.

The Third Chapter is an essay, complete in itself, on an aspect of history which had received but scanty attention from earlier writers. Few historians had turned aside from their accounts of battles and treaties, soldiers and statesmen, kings and parliaments, to describe the everyday life of the people, to tell us how the country squire passed his days, or what was the condition of the great towns. The work involved in gathering the materials for such a survey, covering so many different aspects of the national life, was enormous. Macaulay himself, in a passage quoted above, speaks of it as "the most difficult part of his task". And the picture is drawn with wonderful accuracy. A few points in which it is open to question are dealt with in the Notes; but it will be seen that in nearly all these instances the error lies outside the real subject of the chapter. One section, however—that dealing with the country clergy (see pp. 48-58),—has been impugned as misleading. The question is discussed in its proper place.

The point on which the chapter mainly turns is the change that had come over England during the century and a half that had elapsed between 1685 and 1848. Macaulay was no *laudator temporis acti*; he believed that the nation had

¹ This, of course, does not include the first three chapters, which are introductory to the History proper.

made great progress on every side since the period which he was describing, and the chapter is a series of arguments in support of that belief. For us it is often of great interest to note how much further advance has been made in the half-century since the chapter was written. In some respects—the condition of the navy, for instance—the contrast between our day and that of Macaulay is even more striking than the contrast between Macaulay's times and those of Charles II.

This is hardly the place for a discussion of the merits and defects of Macaulay as a historian, but it may be worth while to indicate briefly some of the points in such a discussion. Among the charges brought against Macaulay are:

(1) That he wrote as an advocate of the Whig party, and not with the impartiality of a historian:

(2) That he "overstated his case and was too much of his own opinion":

(3) That he lowered the dignity of history by writing in a style which was meant to be attractive and popular. "There was something trivial and unworthy of the gravity of science to think of tricking out in the flowers of rhetoric the hardly-won acquisitions of laborious research. . . . Simple unornate statement of the results obtained is the only style of treatment consonant with the dignity of genuine enquiry" (J. C. Morison, *Macaulay*, p. 140):

(4) That he concerned himself too much with the narration of the facts of history, and cared little or nothing for their underlying meaning. "He rarely or never *accounts* for a phase of thought, institution, or line of policy, tracing it back to antecedent causes, and showing how under the circumstances it was the natural and legitimate result. What he does is to *describe* it with often wearisome prolixity." "He contributed nothing to our intelligence of the past, though he did so much for its pictorial illustration" (*Ibid.*, p. 165).

With reference to these charges it may be said:

(1) That the first counts for nothing unless it can be shown

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that he has been led into a misrepresentation of facts by his political views; and the attempts to show this have not met with a large amount of success.

(2) The second is sometimes true; see, for example, the note on p. 8, l. 1, and on p. 55, l. 31.

(3) The third is a matter of taste, but it is appalling to think of the amount of literature that would have to be ruled out of court if such a principle were to be accepted; for it would have to be applied to other departments than that of history.

(4) The fourth may be true, and yet the critics may be taking a wrong view; for it is doubtful whether the narrator-historian and the philosopher-historian are to be found united in any eminent degree in the same individual. In putting before us the facts of history in a vivid, interesting, and skilful manner Macaulay has scarcely a rival; and admitting this, as the most captious critics must, it is questionable whether they have any right to blame him because he does not greatly concern himself with the philosophy of history. "To one is given . . . discernings of spirits; and to another diverse kinds of tongues"; and instead of finding fault with Macaulay because his gifts were not of another order, it would seem wiser to accept with thankfulness the great legacy that he has left us, and when something of a different nature is desired, to go to the writer who can provide it.

3. MACAULAY AS A PROSE WRITER

The most noteworthy feature of Macaulay's style is its perfect clearness. It is difficult to misunderstand Macaulay's meaning. This is a great and outstanding merit that has by no means received due recognition. The narrative is so easy to follow, in spite of the wealth of detail with which it is filled, that the casual reader is often led to assume that the writing of it was just as simple and straightforward a matter. No greater mistake could be made. The clearness of the narrative is the result of the great care that Macaulay bestowed

upon it; he first of all worked hard to make himself master of all the facts of the story that he was going to tell, so as to have it in all its details clearly before his mind, and then, when he came to write it out, he spared no pains to make it run smoothly and distinctly, revising, correcting, rearranging, and even altogether rewriting portions that did not satisfy him. "Macaulay," says his biographer, "never allowed a sentence to pass muster until it was as good as he could make it. He thought little of recasting a chapter in order to obtain a more lucid arrangement, and nothing whatever of reconstructing a paragraph for the sake of one happy stroke or apt illustration." "I worked hard," he himself notes in his journal, "at altering the arrangement of the first three chapters of the third volume. What labour it is to make a tolerable book, and how little readers know how much trouble the ordering of the parts has cost the writer!" Mr. Herbert Paul has put the matter well in his essay on *Macaulay and his Critics*: "It was hard writing, and therefore it is easy reading. He worked to save his readers the trouble he took himself, and he deserves their gratitude as well as their admiration. . . . To make a simple thing complicated will always attract more praise from some critics than to make a complicated thing simple."

Two special features of his style may be briefly noticed. The first is the way in which he manages the transition from one part of his subject to another. In many places this is done with great skill; the new topic is introduced in such a way that it seems to lead naturally out of the old; one scarcely realizes, indeed, that a new topic has been introduced at all. Take, for example, the way in which he passes from the account of the army to that of the navy. After explaining the difficulties in the way of forming a standing army, and the extent to which Charles II had overcome those difficulties, he says:

"If the jealousy of the Parliament and of the nation made it impossible for the king to maintain a formidable standing army, no similar impediment prevented him from making England the first of maritime powers. Both Whigs and Tories were ready to applaud every step

tending to increase the efficiency of that force which, while it was the best protection of the island against foreign enemies, was powerless against civil liberty" (p. 20).

And so he ^{but} glides almost imperceptibly into an account of the navy in the reign of Charles II. Other examples are the passing from the account of the country gentlemen to that of the country clergy, where the devotion of the country gentlemen to the Church of England is used as the bridge (pp. 47, 48); and the way in which the description of the difficulties of travelling is linked on to the sketch of London in 1685 (p. 96). A less happy instance is the joining of the account of the country gentlemen to that of the mineral resources of England (p. 42). The connection in this case appears less natural than Macaulay usually succeeds in making it.

The other is his use of antithesis. He is fond of this device in order to lighten the narrative and give more point to his statements and arguments. A good example occurs at the end of his sketch of the navy, when, after describing the inefficient favourites who were often put in command of ships, and the rough but capable sea-captains who maintained the honour of their country afloat, he sums up the contrast in these telling sentences: "There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles the Second. But the seamen were not gentlemen; and the gentlemen were not seamen" (p. 28, l. 3). Again, he has been giving an account of the political power wielded by London in those days, and showing how it influenced the course of the country's history, and then he drives home his point in this way: "In truth, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the hostility of the City, Charles the First would never have been vanquished, and that without the help of the City Charles the Second could scarcely have been restored". Other examples may be found by the student.

It may here be noted that although no very long time has elapsed since Macaulay wrote his History, indications are to be found in it that some words have changed their form, and

others their meaning, since his day. For example, he writes *chaunting* (p. 8, l. 21), *aristocratical* (p. 26, l. 25; p. 81, l. 15; p. 107, l. 11), *mezzotinto* (p. 134, l. 11), where we now usually find *chanting*, *aristocratic*, and *mezzotint*. He has *unsupportable* (p. 102, l. 9), while we generally write *insupportable*; though he uses the form *insupportably* five lines lower down the same page. He speaks of *snipes* (p. 81, l. 22) and *trouts* (p. 109, l. 25), though the latter may be due to Isaac Walton, whose narrative Macaulay is using, for he, too, speaks of *trouts*. He uses *police* in the sense of 'organization' (see note on p. 86, l. 19, and the other passages cited there); *staple* in the sense of 'distributing centre' (p. 91, l. 11); *statuary* in the sense of 'sculptor' (p. 138, ll. 22, 24), and *manufacturer* in the sense of 'operative' (p. 143, l. 31). The meaning which is ordinarily given to each of these words at the present time is not that which Macaulay gives to them.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CHAPTER

[The student is recommended not to look at this Synopsis until he has made one for himself.]

I. INTRODUCTION (1-4).—The advance of science and the desire for greater comfort combine to bring about a steady improvement in the condition of all civilized nations, especially in times of peace. This has been notably the case in England, where there has been no war for more than a hundred years. The aspect of the country has greatly changed since the year 1685.

II. POPULATION (4-9).—In 1685 no census of the population had been taken, but three independent estimates, based on different methods (hearth money, religious sects, parish registers), give approximately the same result, viz. that the population in 1685 was a little over five millions. When Macaulay wrote, it was nearly seventeen millions (6). The increase has been most marked in the north, owing to the discovery of coal (9).

III. REVENUE (9-11).—The chief sources of revenue were:

- (a) The Excise, producing £585,000;
- (b) The Customs, „ £530,000;
- (c) The Chimney Tax „ £200,000.

The Chimney Tax was very unpopular. The total revenue from these and a few minor sources was about £1,400,000, all of it under the king's control.

IV. EXPENDITURE (11-33).—(a) *Interest* on sums borrowed by the Crown. This should have amounted to £80,000, but was not paid regularly (11).

(b) *The Army* (11-20).—Owing to her insular position England was able to do without the large military establishments that Continental nations were obliged to keep up (13). The militia, the only force recognized by law, was not very efficient. Both political parties had strong objections to a standing army (16), but Charles II began in a small way to form one. The annual cost of the army was £290,000 (20).

(c) *The Navy* (20-28).—The money voted for the navy was largely wasted by the king on his favourites, and the condition of the ships was deplorable (22). The practice of training men specially for this service had not yet been begun (23). The officers were of two distinct classes: (1) Court favourites, who knew nothing of seamanship (26); (2) rough, but efficient, seamen, who had made their way up from the forecabin. About £400,000 per annum was spent on the navy (28).

(d) *Ordnance* (28, 29).—The artillery and the store of gunpowder were greatly inferior to those of modern times. The expenditure was about £60,000.

The annual cost of army, navy, and ordnance was about £750,000. Very little was spent on pensions (30).

(e) *The Civil and Diplomatic Services* (30-33) were run on the smallest possible expenditure, while the money of the nation was lavished on courtiers and favourites (30). The salaries of ministers of state were far higher as compared with the incomes of private persons than they are now, and the illegitimate gains of office were enormous (33).

V. RESOURCES: (*a*) *Agricultural* (34-39).—Much land then lay waste that has since been reclaimed and cultivated. Wild animals were numerous (36). The crops of various kinds of corn were much smaller than they are now (37). The methods of keeping sheep and oxen were imperfect, and fresh meat was therefore scarce in winter. The breeds of horses were poor as compared with those we have to-day (39).

(*b*) *Mineral* (39-41).—The tin mines were being worked, but the copper and the rock-salt, which have since proved so valuable, were neglected (40). The smelting of iron was discouraged because of the consumption of wood which it involved (41). Coal was comparatively little used (41).

VI. THE COUNTRY GENTLEMEN (42-48).—The country gentleman of those days was unable to travel abroad or even to visit London at all frequently. He lacked education and refinement; in politics he was guided by strong prejudices based on ignorance (44). Yet he was proud of his family descent, he administered justice in his district, and not infrequently had seen military service (46). While he disliked the extravagance and mismanagement of the Court, he was ready to come to the support of the king when necessary; he was a strong upholder of the Church of England (48).

VII. THE CLERGY (48-58).—The clergy, as a whole, were of a lower social order than formerly. Before the Reformation they had filled the chief political offices, and had almost a monopoly of education, but since that time things had changed (50). Many of the clergy were chaplains in private houses, and were treated as menials (52). If the chaplain obtained a living he usually married a person of inferior station, and received a miserably small salary (54).

Such was the state of things in the rural districts. In the cities the clergy were often men of great ability and distinction, and among them were many famous preachers (56).

The country clergy were earnest supporters of their Church and of the Tory party, and in more than one political crisis they helped to turn the scale against the Whigs (58).

The yeomanry, who were numerous, threw the weight of their influence into the other scale (59).

VIII. THE COUNTRY TOWNS AND LONDON (59-96).—Bristol was, after London, the largest town in England; its population was 29,000. It had large trade with North America and the West Indies (60).

Norwich was about the same size, and, being the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk, was a kind of provincial capital (61).

Other country towns were important centres of the life of their respective districts. They have all grown and improved since those days, but have been surpassed by newer towns, such as Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Liverpool, which were then little more than villages (62 ff.).

The same is true of the chief watering-places. Cheltenham and Brighton were then mere hamlets, though each is now greater than any provincial town of that time (70). Buxton and Tunbridge Wells were favourite resorts, but Bath was the chief of all watering-places (72).

London had then half a million of inhabitants, and stood relatively higher among the towns of England than it now does; but in size and in commerce it was insignificant compared with what it is at the present time (74). The docks did not exist; the suburbs of to-day were country villages; there was but one bridge over the Thames (75).

The City had been improved after the Great Fire. The homes of the leading merchants were there, so that a strong civic spirit existed. They now live elsewhere, and only their offices and warehouses are in the city (77).

The financial, political, and military power of London were relatively greater than they are to-day (80). A few of the nobles still lived in the city, but most of them had built mansions farther west (82). The parts around what is now Regent Street were then uninhabited country districts (83). The most fashionable parts of London, as it then was, were filthy and disorderly (84). There was no little danger in going about the streets, especially at night (86). Lights were introduced only in the last year of Charles II's reign (87). The district of Whitefriars was the refuge of the outcasts of every class (88).

The political influence of the Court has diminished since

the Revolution, but in the time of Charles II it was the centre of intrigue and patronage (91); it was also the place where the latest news was to be had (91).

The coffee-houses played an important part in the daily life of the citizens. There were coffee-houses for men of fashion, for literary men, and for other classes (95).

The Londoner was thus a very different person from the country gentleman; when the latter came to town he was a butt for the ridicule of everyone (96).

IX. DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELLING (96-111).—The means of communication were primitive. There were no railways and hardly any canals (97). The roads were so bad as to make travelling dangerous (100). The turnpike system, then being introduced, has effected a great improvement (101).

Goods were carried in stage-wagons or on pack-horses, and passengers were also conveyed in both of these ways. Rich people travelled in their own carriages, drawn by four or six horses (102).

Public coaches ran from London to the chief towns, but men often did their journeys on horseback (106).

In all travelling there was great danger from highwaymen (108). The inns were excellent (111).

X. LETTERS AND NEWSPAPERS (111-118).—A Postal System was in operation (112). In London a penny post had been established by private enterprise, but it was suppressed because it infringed the monopoly of the Duke of York, to whom the profits of the Post Office had been granted (113).

Such newspapers as existed were under the control of the Government. The *London Gazette* published such information as was sanctioned by the Court (115). In the capital, however, people got most of their news at the coffee-houses, while in the country they depended mainly upon news-letters (116). The *Observer*, also published with the sanction of the Court, supplied virulent comment upon current events from the Tory point of view (118).

XI. LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART (118-140).—Books were scarce, especially in the country. The education of

women was at a low ebb; voluptuous charms were in higher demand than intellect (120). Among men also the standard of literary attainment was lower than formerly. Greek was neglected even at the universities, though Latin was well known (122). France took the lead in literature as in everything else (123).

The general reaction from extreme austerity to extreme license, which came with the Restoration, was reflected in the literature of the time, particularly in the drama (128). Literary men devoted themselves to writing for the stage because that paid better than poetry (129).

Authors also made money by prefixing to their books flattering dedications to men of rank (130).

Much of the literature of the time was disfigured by the most bitter party spirit (131).

But while literature was debased science began to be exalted. Men of genius turned from politics to nature, and experimental science became the fashion (134). An earnest spirit of investigation was abroad; great advance was made in medicine and agriculture (135); the foundations of chemistry and zoology were laid (136); Newton's discoveries put astronomy on a fresh basis (137).

In art, however, England was far behind. She had a great architect in Wren (138), but all the leading painters and sculptors of the day were foreigners (140).

XII. THE WORKING CLASSES (140-153).—Information as to the condition of the working classes is scanty.

The wages of the agricultural labourer were about four shillings a week, but in some districts during summer might be as high as seven shillings (143).

Workmen in factories were complaining that they could not get a shilling a day, which they considered their due (145). Child labour was largely employed (145).

But while wages were far lower, the cost of many of the necessities of life was higher than at the present time (146).

The pauper class was larger in proportion to the population than it is now (148).

The enclosure of land has deprived the poor of some

privileges that they used to enjoy, but the advantages which they have gained from the advance of civilization more than make up for this loss (149).

The savage and cruel spirit which then animated public opinion has been greatly modified and refined (151).

The idea that the golden age of England lies in the past is a delusion (153).

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR STUDY

The greatest help towards an understanding of this chapter is a study, in outline at least, of the events of the reign of Charles II. For this the second chapter of Macaulay's History may be used, or any of the ordinary text-books of English history, such as Gardiner, Ransome, or Oman.

Other books to which the student or teacher may find it useful to refer are:

Social England, Vol. IV. ed. H. D. Traill.

The Diary of Samuel Pepys.

The Diary of John Evelyn.

London, by Sir Walter Besant.

London under the Stuarts, by the same.

The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, by the Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart.

Macaulay, by J. Cotter Morrison (English Men of Letters).

Life in the English Church, 1660-1714 (especially chapter viii), by Canon Overton.

Men and Letters, by Herbert Paul (Essay on Macaulay and his Critics).

Hours in a Library, by Sir Leslie Stephen (Essay on Macaulay in Vol. II).

THE STATE OF ENGLAND IN 1685

(THE THIRD CHAPTER OF MACAULAY'S HISTORY)

I intend, in this chapter, to give a description of the state in which England was at the time when the crown passed from Charles the Second to his brother. Such a description, composed from scanty and dispersed materials, must necessarily be very imperfect. Yet it may perhaps correct some false notions which would make the subsequent narrative unintelligible or uninteresting.

If we would study with profit the history of our ancestors, we must be constantly on our guard against that delusion which the well known names of families, places, and offices naturally produce, and must never forget that the country of which we read was a very different country from that in which we live. In every experimental science there is a tendency towards perfection. In every human being there is a wish to ameliorate his own condition. These two principles have often sufficed, even when counteracted by great public calamities and by bad institutions, to carry civilization rapidly forward. No ordinary misfortune, no ordinary misgovernment, will do so much to make a nation wretched, as the constant progress of physical knowledge, and the constant effort of every man to better himself will do to make a nation prosperous. It has often been found that profuse ex-

penditure, heavy taxation, absurd commercial restrictions, corrupt tribunals, disastrous wars, seditions, persecutions, conflagrations, inundations, have not been able to destroy capital as fast as the exertions of private citizens have
5 been able to create it. It can easily be proved that, in our own land, the national wealth has, during at least six centuries, been almost uninterruptedly increasing; that it was greater under the Tudors than under the Plantagenets; that it was greater under the Stuarts than under
10 the Tudors; that, in spite of battles, sieges, and confiscations, it was greater on the day of the Restoration than on the day when the Long Parliament met; that, in spite of maladministration, of extravagance, of public bankruptcy, of two costly and unsuccessful wars, of the
15 Pestilence and of the Fire, it was greater on the day of the death of Charles the Second than on the day of his Restoration. This progress, having continued during many ages, became at length, about the middle of the eighteenth century, portentously rapid, and has pro-
20 ceeded, during the nineteenth, with accelerated velocity. In consequence partly of our geographical and partly of our moral position, we have, during several generations, been exempt from evils which have elsewhere impeded the efforts and destroyed the fruits of industry. While
25 every part of the Continent, from Moscow to Lisbon, has been the theatre of bloody and devastating wars, no hostile standard has been seen here but as a trophy. While revolutions have taken place all around us, our government has never once been subverted by violence.
30 During more than a hundred years there has been in our island no tumult of sufficient importance to be called an insurrection; nor has the law been once borne down either by popular fury or by regal tyranny: public credit has been held sacred: the administration of justice has been pure: even in times which

might by Englishmen be justly called evil times, we have enjoyed what almost every other nation in the world would have considered as an ample measure of civil and religious freedom. Every man has felt entire confidence that the state would protect him in the possession of what had been earned by his diligence and hoarded by his self-denial. Under the benignant influence of peace and liberty, science has flourished, and has been applied to practical purposes on a scale never before known. The consequence is that a change to which the history of the old world furnishes no parallel has taken place in our country. Could the England of 1685 be, by some magical process, set before our eyes, we should not know one landscape in a hundred, or one building in ten thousand. The country gentleman would not recognize his own fields. The inhabitant of the town would not recognize his own street. Everything has been changed, but the great features of nature, and a few massive and durable works of human art. We might find out Snowdon and Winder- mere, the Cheddar Cliffs and Beachy Head. We might find out here and there a Norman minster, or a castle which witnessed the wars of the Roses. But, with such rare exceptions, everything would be strange to us. Many thousands of square miles which are now rich corn land and meadows, intersected by green hedgerows, and dotted with villages and pleasant country seats, would appear as moors overgrown with furze, or fens abandoned to wild ducks. We should see straggling huts built of wood and covered with thatch, where we now see manufacturing towns and seaports renowned to the farthest ends of the world. The capital itself would shrink to dimensions not much exceeding those of its present suburb on the south of the Thames. Not less strange to us would be the garb, and manners of the people, the furniture and the

Great
change in
the state of
England
since 1685.

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equipages, the interior of the shops and dwellings. Such a change in the state of a nation seems to be at least as well entitled to the notice of a historian as any change of the dynasty or of the ministry.¹

5 One of the first objects of an enquirer, who wishes to form a correct notion of the state of a community at a given time, must be to ascertain of how many

Population
of England
in 1685.

persons that community then consisted. Unfortunately the population of England in 1685

10 cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. For no great state had then adopted the wise course of periodically numbering the people. All men were left to conjecture for themselves; and, as they generally conjectured without examining facts, and under the influence of

15 strong passions and prejudices, their guesses were often ludicrously absurd. Even intelligent Londoners ordinarily talked of London as containing several millions of souls. It was confidently asserted by many that, during the thirty-five years which had elapsed between
20 the accession of Charles the First and the Restoration, the population of the city had increased by two millions.²

Even while the ravages of the Plague and Fire were recent, it was the fashion to say that the capital still had a million and a half of inhabitants.³ Some persons, disgusted by

25 these exaggerations, ran violently into the opposite extreme. Thus Isaac Vossius, a man of undoubted parts

¹ During the interval which has elapsed since this chapter was written, England has continued to advance rapidly in material prosperity. I have left my text nearly as it originally stood; but I have added a few notes which may enable the reader to form some notion of the progress which has been made during the last nine years, and in general, I would desire him to remember that there is scarcely a district which is not more populous, or a source of wealth which is not more productive, at present than in 1848. (1857)

² *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, by Captain John Graunt (Sir William Petty), chap. xi.

³ "She doth comprehend
Full fifteen hundred thousand which do spend
Their days within."—*Great Britain's Beauty*, 1671.

and learning, strenuously maintained, that there were only two millions of human beings in England, Scotland, and Ireland taken together.¹

We are not, however, left without the means of correcting the wild blunders into which some minds were hurried ⁵ by national vanity, and others by a morbid love of paradox. There are extant three computations which seem to be entitled to peculiar attention. They are entirely independent of each other: they proceed on different principles; and yet there is little difference in the results. ¹⁰

One of these computations was made in the year 1696, by Gregory King, Lancaster herald, a political arithmetician of great acuteness and judgment. The basis of his calculations was the number of houses returned in 1690 by the officers who made the last collection of the ⁽¹⁾ 16 hearth money. The conclusion at which he arrived was, that the population of England was nearly five millions and a half.²

About the same time, King William the Third was desirous to ascertain the comparative strength of the ²⁰ religious sects into which the community was divided. An enquiry was instituted, and reports were laid before ⁽²⁾ him from all the dioceses of the realm. According to these reports, the number of his English subjects must have been about five million two hundred thousand.³ ²⁵

Lastly, in our own days, Mr. Finlaison, an actuary of ⁽³⁾ eminent skill, subjected the ancient parochial registers of

¹ Isaac Vossius, *De Magnitudine Urbium Sinarum*, 1685. Vossius, as we learn from St. Evremond, talked on this subject oftener and longer than fashionable circles cared to listen.

² King's *Natural and Political Observations*, 1696. This valuable treatise, which ought to be read as the author wrote it, and not as garbled by Davenant, will be found in some editions of Chalmer's *Estimate*.

³ Dalrymple's *Appendix to Part II, Book I*. The practice of reckoning the population by sects was long fashionable. Gulliver says of the King of Brobdingnag; "He laughed at my odd arithmetic, as he was pleased to call it, in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics."

baptisms, marriages, and burials, to all the tests which the modern improvements in statistical science enabled him to apply. His opinion was, that, at the close of the seventeenth century, the population of England was a little under five million two hundred thousand souls.¹

Of these three estimates, framed without concert by different persons from different sets of materials, the highest, which is that of King, does not exceed the lowest, which is that of Finlaison, by one-twelfth. We may, therefore, with confidence, pronounce that, when James the Second reigned, England contained between five million and five million five hundred thousand inhabitants. On the very highest supposition, she then had less than one-third of her present population, and less than three times the population which is now collected in her gigantic capital.

The increase of the people has been great in every part of the kingdom, but generally much greater in the northern than in the southern shires. In truth, a large part of the country beyond Trent was, down to the eighteenth century, in a state of barbarism. Physical and moral causes had concurred to prevent civilization from spreading to that region. The air was inclement; the soil was generally such as required skilful and industrious cultivation; and there could be little skill or industry in a tract which was often the theatre of war, and which, even when there was nominal peace, was constantly desolated by bands of Scottish marauders. Before the union of the two British crowns, and long after that union, there was as great a difference between Middlesex and Northumberland as there now is between Massachusetts and the settlements of those squatters who, far to the west of the Mississippi,

20 Increase of population greater in the north than in the south.

¹ Preface to the Population Returns of 1831.

administer a rude justice with the rifle and the dagger. In the reign of Charles the Second, the traces left by ages of slaughter and pillage were distinctly perceptible, many miles south of the Tweed, in the face of the country and in the lawless manners of the people. There was still a large class of moss-troopers, whose calling was to plunder dwellings and to drive away whole herds of cattle. It was found necessary, soon after the Restoration, to enact laws of great severity for the prevention of these outrages. The magistrates of Northumberland and Cumberland were authorized to raise bands of armed men for the defence of property and order; and provision was made for meeting the expense of these levies by local taxation.¹ The parishes were required to keep bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting the freebooters. Many old men who were living in the middle of the eighteenth century could well remember the time when those ferocious dogs were common.² Yet, even with such auxiliaries, it was often found impossible to track the robbers to their retreats among the hills and morasses. For the geography of that wild country was very imperfectly known. Even after the accession of George the Third, the path over the fells from Borrowdale to Raven-
glas was still a secret carefully kept by the dalesmen, some of whom had probably in their youth escaped from the pursuit of justice by that road.³ The seats of the gentry and the larger farmhouses were fortified. Oxen were penned at night beneath the overhanging battlements of the residence, which was known by the name of the Peel. The inmates slept with arms at their sides. Huge stones and boiling water were in readiness to crush and scald the plunderer who might venture to assail the

¹ Statutes 14 Car. II c. 22; 18 and 19 Car. II c. 3; 29 and 30 Car. II c. 2.

² Nicholson and Bourne, *Discourse on the Ancient State of the Border*, 1777.

³ Gray's *Journal of a Tour in the Lakes*, Oct 3, 1769.

little garrison. No traveller ventured into that country without making his will. The Judges on circuit, with the whole body of barristers, attorneys, clerks, and serving men, rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed and escorted by a strong guard under the command of the Sheriffs. It was necessary to carry provisions; for the country was a wilderness which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten. The irregular vigour with which criminal justice was administered shocked observers whose lives had been passed in more tranquil districts. Juries, animated by hatred and by a sense of common danger, convicted housebreakers and cattle stealers with the promptitude of a court martial in a mutiny; and the convicts were hurried by scores to the gallows.¹ Within the memory of some whom this generation has seen, the sportsmen who wandered in pursuit of game to the sources of the Tyne found the heaths round Keeldar Castle peopled by a race scarcely less savage than the Indians of California, and heard with surprise the half-naked women chaunting a wild measure, while the men with brandished dirks danced a war dance.²

Slowly and with difficulty peace was established on the border. In the train of peace came industry and all the arts of life. Meanwhile it was discovered that the regions north of the Trent possessed in their coal beds a source of wealth far more precious than the gold mines of Peru. It was found that, in the neighbourhood of these beds, almost every manufacture might be most profitably carried on. A constant stream of emigrants began to roll northward. It appeared by the returns of 1841

¹ North's *Life of Guildford*; Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland, Parish of Brampton*.

² See Sir Walter Scott's Journal Oct 7, 1827, in his life by Mr Lockhart.

that the ancient archiepiscopal province of York contained two-sevenths of the population of England. At the time of the Revolution that province was believed to contain one-seventh of the population.¹ In Lancashire the number of inhabitants appears to have increased nine-fold, while in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire it has hardly doubled.²

Of the taxation we can speak with more confidence and precision than of the population. The revenue of England, when Charles the Second died, was Revenue 10
in 1685 small when compared with the resources which she even then possessed, or with the sums which were raised by the governments of the neighbouring countries. It had, from the time of the Restoration, been almost constantly increasing: yet it was little more than three-fourths of the revenue of the United Provinces, and was hardly one-fifth of the revenue of France.

The most important head of receipt was the excise, which, in the last year of the reign of Charles, produced five hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds, clear of all deductions. The net proceeds of the customs amounted in the same year to five hundred and thirty thousand pounds. These burdens did not lie very heavy on the nation. The tax on chimneys, though less productive, called forth far louder murmurs. The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the Exchequer; and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious: for

¹ Dalrymple, *Appendix to Part II, Book I.* The returns of the hearth money lead to nearly the same conclusion. The hearths in the province of York were not a sixth of the hearths of England.

² I do not, of course, pretend to strict accuracy here; but I believe that whoever will take the trouble to compare the last returns of hearth money in the reign of William the Third with the census of 1841, will come to a conclusion not very different from mine.

it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits; and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. The poorer householders were frequently unable to pay their hearth money to the day. When this happened, their furniture was distrained without mercy: for the tax was farmed; and a farmer of taxes is, of all creditors, proverbially the most rapacious. The collectors were loudly accused of performing their unpopular duty with harshness and insolence. It was said that, as soon as they appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women ran to hide their earthenware. Nay, the single bed of a poor family had sometimes been carried away and sold. The net annual receipt from this tax was two hundred thousand pounds.¹

When to the three great sources of income which have been mentioned we add the royal domains, then far more extensive than at present, the first fruits and tenths which had not yet been surrendered to the Church, the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the forfeitures, and the fines,

¹ There are in the Pepysian Library, some ballads of that age on the chimney money. I will give a specimen or two:—

“The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,
Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots and pipkins hide;
There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,
But, if you talk of chimney men, will spare a curse or two”.

Again;

“Like plundering soldiers they’d enter the door,
And make a distress on the goods of the poor,
While frightened poor children distractedly cried:
This nothing abated their insolent pride”.

In the British Museum there are doggerel verses composed on the same subject and in the same spirit:—

“Or, if through poverty it be not paid,
For cruelty to tear away the single bed,
On which the poor man rests his weary head,
At once deprives him of his rest and bread”.

I take this opportunity, the first which occurs, of acknowledging most gratefully the kind and liberal manner in which the Master and Vicemaster of Magdalene College, Cambridge, gave me access to the valuable collections of Pepys.

we shall find that the whole annual revenue of the crown may be fairly estimated at about fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Of this revenue part was hereditary: the rest had been granted to Charles for life; and he was at liberty to lay out the whole exactly as he thought fit. 5 Whatever he could save by retrenching from the expenditure of the public departments was an addition to his privy purse. Of the post office more will hereafter be said. The profits of that establishment had been appropriated by Parliament to the Duke of York. 10

The King's revenue was, or rather ought to have been, charged with the payment of about eighty thousand pounds a year, the interest of the sum fraudulently detained in the Exchequer by the Cabal. While Danby was at the head of the finances, the creditors had received dividends, though not with the strict punctuality of modern times: but those who had succeeded him at the Treasury had been less expert, or less solicitous to maintain public faith. Since the victory won by the court over the Whigs not a farthing had been paid; and 15 no redress was granted to the sufferers, till a new dynasty had been many years on the throne. There can be no greater error than to imagine that the device of meeting the exigencies of the state by loans was imported into our island by William the Third. What really dates 25 from his reign is not the system of borrowing, but the system of funding. From a period of immemorial antiquity it had been the practice of every English government to contract debts. What the Revolution introduced was the practice of honestly paying them.¹ 30

By plundering the public creditor, it was possible to make an income of about fourteen hundred thousand pounds, with some occasional help from Versailles,

¹ My chief authorities for this financial statement will be found in the Commons' Journals, March 1, and March 20, 1688.

support the necessary charges of the government and the wasteful expenditure of the court. For that load which pressed most heavily on the finances of the great Continental states was here scarcely felt. In France, Germany, and the Netherlands, armies, such as Henry the Fourth and Philip the Second had never employed in time of war, were kept up in the midst of peace. Bastions and ravelins were everywhere rising, constructed on principles unknown to Parma and Spinola. Stores of artillery and ammunition were accumulated, such as even Richelieu, whom the preceding generation had regarded as a worker of prodigies, would have pronounced fabulous. No man could journey many leagues in those countries without hearing the drums of a regiment on march, or being challenged by the sentinels on the drawbridge of a fortress. In our island, on the contrary, it was possible to live long and to travel far, without being once reminded, by any martial sight or sound, that the defence of nations had become a science and a calling. The majority of Englishmen who were under twenty-five years of age had probably never seen a company of regular soldiers. Of the cities which, in the civil war, had valiantly repelled hostile armies, scarcely one was now capable of sustaining a siege. The gates stood open night and day. The ditches were dry. The ramparts had been suffered to fall into decay, or were repaired only that the townsfolk might have a pleasant walk on summer evenings. Of the old baronial keeps many had been shattered by the cannon of Fairfax and Cromwell, and lay in heaps of ruin, overgrown with ivy. Those which remained had lost their martial character, and were now rural palaces of the aristocracy. The moats were turned into preserves of carp and pike. The mounds were planted with fragrant shrubs, through which spiral walks

15 Military
system.

ran up to summer houses adorned with mirrors and paintings.¹ On the capes of the sea coast, and on many inland hills, were still seen tall posts, surmounted by barrels. Once those barrels had been filled with pitch. Watchmen had been set round them in seasons of danger: and, within a few hours after a Spanish sail had been discovered in the Channel, or after a thousand Scottish moss-troopers had crossed the Tweed, the signal fires were blazing fifty miles off, and whole counties were rising in arms. But many years had now elapsed since the beacons had been lighted; and they were regarded rather as curious relics of ancient manners than as parts of a machinery necessary to the safety of the state.²

The only army which the law recognized was the militia. That force had been remodelled by two Acts of Parliament passed shortly after the Restoration. Every man who possessed five hundred pounds a year derived from land, or six thousand pounds of personal estate, was bound to provide, equip, and pay at his own charge, one horseman. Every man who had fifty pounds a year derived from land, or six hundred pounds of personal estate, was charged in like manner with one pikeman or musketeer. Smaller proprietors were joined together in a kind of society, for which our language does not afford a special name, but which an Athenian would have called a Synteleia; and each society was required to furnish, according to its means, a horse soldier or a foot soldier. The whole number of cavalry and infantry thus maintained was popularly estimated at a hundred and thirty thousand men.³

The King was, by the ancient constitution of the realm,

¹ See for example the picture of the mound at Marlborough, in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

² Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684

³ 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 3; 15 Car. II. c. 4, Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684.

and by the recent and solemn acknowledgment of both Houses of Parliament, the sole Captain General of this large force. The Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies held the command under him, and appointed meetings for drilling and inspection. The time occupied by such meetings, however, was not to exceed fourteen days in one year. The Justices of the Peace were authorized to inflict slight penalties for breaches of discipline. Of the ordinary cost no part was paid by the crown: but, when the trainbands were called out against an enemy, their subsistence became a charge on the general revenue of the state, and they were subject to the utmost rigour of martial law.

There were those who looked on the militia with no friendly eye. Men who had travelled much on the Continent, who had marvelled at the stern precision with which every sentinel moved and spoke in the citadels built by Vauban, who had seen the mighty armies which poured along all the roads of Germany to chase the Ottoman from the gates of Vienna, and who had been dazzled by the well ordered pomp of the household troops of Lewis, sneered much at the way in which the peasants of Devonshire and Yorkshire marched and wheeled, shouldered muskets and ported pikes. The enemies of the liberties and religion of England looked with aversion on a force which could not, without extreme risk, be employed against those liberties and that religion, and missed no opportunity of throwing ridicule on the rustic soldiery.¹ Enlightened patriots, when they

¹ Dryden, in his *Cymon and Iphigenia*, expressed, with his usual keenness and energy, the sentiments which had been fashionable among the sycophants of James the Second:—

"The country rings around with loud alarms,
And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
Mouths without hands, maintained at vast expense,
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.

contrasted these rude levies with the battalions which, in time of war, a few hours might bring to the coast of Kent or Sussex, were forced to acknowledge that dangerous as it might be to keep up a permanent military establishment, it might be more dangerous still to stake the honour and independence of the country on the result of a contest between ploughmen officered by Justices of the Peace, and veteran warriors led by Marshals of France. In Parliament, however, it was necessary to express such opinions with some reserve; for the militia was an institution eminently popular. Every reflection thrown on it excited the indignation of both the great parties in the state, and especially of that party which was distinguished by peculiar zeal for monarchy and for the Anglican Church. The array of the counties was commanded almost exclusively by Tory noblemen and gentlemen. They were proud of their military rank, and considered an insult offered to the service to which they belonged as offered to themselves. They were also perfectly aware that whatever was said against a militia was said in favour of a standing army; and the name of standing army was hateful to them. One such army had held dominion in England; and under that dominion the King had been murdered, the nobility degraded, the landed gentry plundered, the Church persecuted. There was scarcely a rural grandee who could not tell a story of wrongs and insults suffered by himself, or by his father, at the hands of the parliamentary soldiers. One old Cavalier had seen half his manor house blown up. The hereditary elms of another had been hewn down.

Stout once a month they march, a blustering band,
And ever, but in time of need, at hand.
This was the morn when, issuing on the guard,
Drawn up in rank and file, they stood prepared
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day."

A third could never go into his parish church without being reminded by the defaced scutcheons and headless statues of his ancestry, that Oliver's redcoats had once stabled their horses there. The consequence was that
5 those very Royalists, who were most ready to fight for the King themselves, were the last persons whom he could venture to ask for the means of hiring regular troops.

Charles, however, had, a few months after his restoration, begun to form a small standing army. He felt that,
10 without some better protection than that of the trainbands and beefeaters, his palace and person would hardly be secure, in the vicinity of a great city swarming with warlike Fifth Monarchy men who had just been disbanded. He therefore, careless and profuse as he was,
15 contrived to spare from his pleasures a sum sufficient to keep up a body of guards. With the increase of trade and of public wealth his revenues increased; and he was thus enabled, in spite of the occasional murmurs of the Commons, to make gradual additions to his regular
20 forces. One considerable addition was made a few months before the close of his reign. The costly, useless, and pestilential settlement of Tangier was abandoned to the barbarians who dwelt around it; and the garrison, consisting of one regiment of horse and two
25 regiments of foot, was brought to England.

The little army formed by Charles the Second was the germ of that great and renowned army which has, in the present century, marched triumphant into Madrid and Paris, into Canton and Candahar. The Life Guards,
30 who now form two regiments, were then distributed into three troops, each of which consisted of two hundred carabineers, exclusive of officers. This corps, to which the safety of the King and royal family was confided, had a very peculiar character. Even the privates were
35 designated as gentlemen of the Guard. Many of them

were of good families, and had held commissions in the civil war. Their pay was far higher than that of the most favoured regiment of our time, and would in that age have been thought a respectable provision for the younger son of a country squire. Their fine horses,⁵ their rich housings, their cuirasses, and their buff coats adorned with ribands, velvet, and gold lace, made a splendid appearance in St. James's Park. A small body of grenadier dragoons, who came from a lower class and received lower pay, was attached to each troop. An-¹⁰ other body of household cavalry, distinguished by blue coats and cloaks, and still called the Blues, was generally quartered in the neighbourhood of the capital. Near the capital lay also the corps which is now designated as the first regiment of dragoons, but which was then the ¹⁵ only regiment of dragoons on the English establishment. It had recently been formed out of the cavalry which had returned from Tangier. A single troop of dragoons, which did not form part of any regiment, was stationed near Berwick, for the purpose of keeping the peace ²⁰ among the moss-troopers of the border. For this species of service the dragoon was then thought to be peculiarly qualified. He has since become a mere horse soldier. But in the seventeenth century he was accurately described by Montecuculi as a foot soldier who used a ²⁵ horse only in order to arrive with more speed at the place where military service was to be performed.

The household infantry consisted of two regiments, which were then, as now, called the first regiment of Foot Guards, and the Coldstream Guards. They gener-³⁰ ally did duty near Whitehall and St. James's Palace. As there were then no barracks, and as, by the Petition of Right, it had been declared unlawful to quarter soldiers on private families, the redcoats filled all the alehouses of Westminster and the Strand.

There were five other regiments of foot. One of these, called the Admiral's Regiment, was especially destined to service on board of the fleet. The remaining four still rank as the first four regiments of the line. 5 Two of these represented two brigades which had long sustained on the Continent the fame of British valour. The first, or Royal regiment, had, under the great Gustavus, borne a conspicuous part in the deliverance of Germany. The third regiment, distinguished by flesh- 10 coloured facings, from which it had derived the well-known name of the Buffs, had, under Maurice of Nassau, fought not less bravely for the deliverance of the Netherlands. Both these gallant bands had at length, after many vicissitudes, been recalled from foreign service by 15 Charles the Second, and had been placed on the English establishment.

The regiments which now rank as the second and fourth of the line had, in 1685, just returned from Tangier, bringing with them cruel and licentious habits 20 contracted in a long course of warfare with the Moors. A few companies of infantry which had not been regimented lay in garrison at Tilbury Fort, at Portsmouth, at Plymouth, and at some other important stations on or near the coast.

25 Since the beginning of the seventeenth century a great change had taken place in the arms of the infantry. The pike had been gradually giving place to the musket; and, at the close of the reign of Charles the Second, most of his foot were musketeers. Still, however, there was 30 a large intermixture of pikemen. Each class of troops was occasionally instructed in the use of the weapon which peculiarly belonged to the other class. Every foot soldier had at his side a sword for close fight. The musketeer was generally provided with a weapon which 35 had, during many years, been gradually coming into use,

and which the English then called a dagger, but which, from the time of William the Third, has been known among us by the French name of bayonet. The bayonet seems not to have been then so formidable an instrument of destruction as it has since become; for it was inserted in the muzzle of the gun; and in action much time was lost while the soldier unfixed his bayonet in order to fire, and fixed it again in order to charge. The dragoon, when dismounted, fought as a musketeer.

The regular army which was kept up in England at the beginning of the year 1685 consisted, all ranks included, of about seven thousand foot, and about seventeen hundred cavalry and dragoons. The whole charge amounted to about two hundred and ninety thousand pounds a year, less than a tenth part of what the military establishment of France then cost in time of peace. The daily pay of a private in the Life Guards was four shillings, in the Blues two shillings and sixpence, in the Dragoons eighteenpence, in the Foot Guards tenpence, and in the line eightpence. The discipline was lax, and indeed could not be otherwise. The common law of England knew nothing of courts martial, and made no distinction, in time of peace, between a soldier and any other subject; nor could the government then venture to ask even the most loyal Parliament for a Mutiny Bill. A soldier, therefore, by knocking down his colonel, incurred only the ordinary penalties of assault and battery, and by refusing to obey orders, by sleeping on guard, or by deserting his colours, incurred no legal penalty at all. Military punishments were doubtless inflicted during the reign of Charles the Second; but they were inflicted very sparingly, and in such a manner as not to attract public notice, or to produce an appeal to the courts of Westminster Hall.

Such an army as has been described was not very

likely to enslave five millions of Englishmen. It would indeed have been unable to suppress an insurrection in London, if the trainbands of the City had joined the insurgents. Nor could the King expect that, if a rising
5 took place in England, he would obtain effectual help from his other dominions. For, though both Scotland and Ireland supported separate military establishments, those establishments were not more than sufficient to keep down the Puritan malcontents of the former king-
10 dom, and the Popish malcontents of the latter. The government had, however, an important military resource which must not be left unnoticed. There were in the pay of the United Provinces six fine regiments, of which three had been raised in England and three in Scotland.
15 Their native prince had reserved to himself the power of recalling them, if he needed their help against a foreign or domestic enemy. In the meantime they were maintained without any charge to him, and were kept under an excellent discipline, to which he could not have ven-
20 tured to subject them.¹

If the jealousy of the Parliament and of the nation made it impossible for the King to maintain a formidable
standing army, no similar impediment prevented
The navy. him from making England the first of mari-
25 time powers. Both Whigs and Tories were ready to applaud every step tending to increase the efficiency of that force which, while it was the best protection of the island against foreign enemies, was powerless against civil liberty. All the greatest exploits achieved within
30 the memory of that generation by English soldiers had

¹ Most of the materials which I have used for this account of the regular army will be found in the *Historical Records of Regiments*, published by command of King William the Fourth, and under the direction of the Adjutant General. See also Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; *Abridgment of the English Military Discipline*, printed by especial command, 1685; *Exercise of Foot* by their Majesties' command, 1690.

been achieved in war against English princes. The victories of our sailors had been won over foreign foes, and had averted havoc and rapine from our own soil. By at least half the nation the battle of Naseby was remembered with horror, and the battle of Dunbar with pride chequered by many painful feelings; but the defeat of the Armada, and the encounters of Blake with the Hollanders and Spaniards, were recollected with unmixed exultation by all parties. Ever since the Restoration, the Commons, even when most discontented and most parsimonious, had always been bountiful to profusion where the interest of the navy was concerned. It had been represented to them, while Danby was minister, that many of the vessels in the royal fleet were old and unfit for sea; and, although the House was, at that time, in no giving mood, an aid of near six hundred thousand pounds had been granted for the building of thirty new men-of-war.

But the liberality of the nation had been made fruitless by the vices of the government. The list of the King's ships, it is true, looked well. There were nine first rates, fourteen second rates, thirty-nine third rates, and many smaller vessels. The first rates, indeed, were less than the third rates of our time; and the third rates would not now rank as very large frigates. This force, however, if it had been efficient, would in those days have been regarded by the greatest potentate as formidable. But it existed only on paper. When the reign of Charles terminated, his navy had sunk into degradation and decay such as would be almost incredible if it were not certified to us by the independent and concurring evidence of witnesses whose authority is beyond exception. Pepys, the ablest man in the English Admiralty, drew up, in the year 1684, a memorial on the state of his department, for the information of Charles.

A few months later Bonrepaux, the ablest man in the French Admiralty, having visited England for the especial purpose of ascertaining her maritime strength, laid the result of his enquiries before Lewis. The two reports
5 are to the same effect. Bonrepaux declared that he found everything in disorder and in miserable condition, that the superiority of the French marine was acknowledged with shame and envy at Whitehall, and that the state of our shipping and dockyards was of itself a sufficient
10 guarantee that we should not meddle in the disputes of Europe.¹ Pepys informed his master that the naval administration was a prodigy of wastefulness, corruption, ignorance, and indolence, that no estimate could be trusted, that no contract was performed, that no check
15 was enforced. The vessels which the recent liberality of Parliament had enabled the government to build, and which had never been out of harbour, had been made of such wretched timber that they were more unfit to go to sea than the old hulls which had been battered thirty
20 years before by Dutch and Spanish broadsides. Some of the new men-of-war, indeed, were so rotten that, unless speedily repaired, they would go down at their moorings. The sailors were paid with so little punctuality that they were glad to find some usurer who would
25 purchase their tickets at forty per cent discount. The commanders who had not powerful friends at court were even worse treated. Some officers, to whom large arrears were due, after vainly importuning the government during many years, had died for want of a morsel of bread.

¹ I refer to a despatch of Bonrepaux to Seignelay, dated Feb. 25, 1686. It was transcribed for Mr. Fox from the French archives, during the peace of Amiens, and, with the other materials brought together by that great man, was entrusted to me by the kindness of the late Lady Holland, and of the present Lord Holland. I ought to add that, even in the midst of the troubles which have lately agitated Paris, I found no difficulty in obtaining, from the liberality of the functionaries there, extracts supplying some chasms in Mr. Fox's collection. (1848)

Most of the ships which were afloat were commanded by men who had not been bred to the sea. This, it is true, was not an abuse introduced by the government of Charles. No state, ancient or modern, had, before that time, made a complete separation between the naval and military services. In the great civilized nations of antiquity, Cimon and Lysander, Pompey and Agrippa, had fought battles by sea as well as by land. Nor had the impulse which nautical science received at the close of the fifteenth century produced any new division of labour. At Flodden the right wing of the victorious army was led by the Admiral of England. At Jarnac and Moncontour, the Huguenot ranks were marshalled by the Admiral of France. Neither John of Austria, the conqueror of Lepanto, nor Lord Howard of Effingham,¹⁵ whose direction the marine of England was confided when the Spanish invaders were approaching our shores, had received the education of a sailor. Raleigh, highly celebrated as a naval commander, had served during many years as a soldier in France, the Netherlands, and²⁰ Ireland. Blake had distinguished himself by his skilful and valiant defence of an island town before he humbled the pride of Holland and of Castile on the ocean. Since the Restoration the same system had been followed. Great fleets had been entrusted to the direction of²⁵ Rupert and Monk; Rupert, who was renowned chiefly as a hot and daring cavalry officer, and Monk, who, when he wished his ship to change her course, moved the mirth of his crew by calling out, "Wheel to the left!"

But about this time wise men began to perceive that³⁰ the rapid improvement, both of the art of war and of the art of navigation, made it necessary to draw a line between two professions which had hitherto been confounded. Either the command of a regiment or the command of a ship was now a matter quite sufficient to³⁵

occupy the attention of a single mind. In the year 1672, the French government determined to educate young men of good family, from a very early age, specially for the sea service. But the English government, instead of following this excellent example, not only continued to distribute high naval commands among landmen, but selected for such commands landmen who, even on land, could not safely have been put in any important trust. Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the King's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man-of-war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking, and gambling, he succeeded in learning the meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was thought fully qualified to take charge of a three-decker. This is no imaginary description. In 1666, John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, at seventeen years of age, volunteered to serve at sea against the Dutch. He passed six weeks on board, diverting himself, as well as he could, in the society of some young libertines of rank, and then returned home to take the command of a troop of horse. After this he was never on the water till the year 1672, when he again joined the fleet, and was almost immediately appointed Captain of a ship of eighty-four guns, reputed the finest in the navy. He was then twenty-three years old, and

had not, in the whole course of his life, been three months afloat. As soon as he came back from sea he was made Colonel of a regiment of foot. This is a specimen of the manner in which naval commands of the highest importance were then given; and a very favourable specimen; for Mulgrave, though he wanted experience, wanted neither parts nor courage. Others were promoted in the same way, who not only were not good officers, but who were intellectually and morally incapable of ever becoming good officers, and whose only recommendation was that they had been ruined by folly and vice. The chief bait which allured these men into the service was the profit of conveying bullion and other valuable commodities from port to port; for both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were then so much infested by pirates from Barbary, that merchants were not willing to trust precious cargoes to any custody but that of a man-of-war. A captain might thus clear several thousands of pounds by a short voyage; and for this lucrative business he too often neglected the interests of his country and the honour of his flag, made mean submissions to foreign powers, disobeyed the most direct injunctions of his superiors, lay in port when he was ordered to chase a Sallee rover, or ran with dollars to Leghorn when his instructions directed him to repair to Lisbon. And all this he did with impunity. The same interest which had placed him in a post for which he was unfit maintained him there. No Admiral, bearded by these corrupt and dissolute minions of the palace, dared to do more than mutter something about a court martial. If any officer showed a higher sense of duty than his fellows, he soon found that he lost money without acquiring honour. One Captain, who, by strictly obeying the orders of the Admiralty, missed a cargo which would have been worth four thousand pounds to

him, was told by Charles, with ignoble levity, that he was a great fool for his pains.

The discipline of the navy was of a piece throughout. As the courtly Captain despised the Admiralty, he was in turn despised by his crew. It could not be concealed that he was inferior in seamanship to every foremast man on board. It was idle to expect that old sailors, familiar with the hurricanes of the tropics, and with the icebergs of the Arctic Circle, would pay prompt and respectful obedience to a chief who knew no more of winds and waves than could be learned in a gilded barge between Whitehall Stairs and Hampton Court. To trust such a novice with the working of a ship was evidently impossible. The direction of the navigation was therefore taken from the Captain and given to the Master; but this partition of authority produced innumerable inconveniences. The line of demarcation was not, and perhaps could not be, drawn with precision. There was therefore constant wrangling. The Captain, confident in proportion to his ignorance, treated the Master with lordly contempt. The Master, well aware of the danger of disobliging the powerful, too often, after a struggle, yielded against his better judgment; and it was well if the loss of ship and crew was not the consequence. In general, the least mischievous of the aristocratical Captains were those who completely abandoned to others the direction of the vessels, and thought only of making money and spending it. The way in which these men lived was so ostentatious and voluptuous that, greedy as they were of gain, they seldom became rich. They dressed as if for a gala at Versailles, ate off plate, drank the richest wines, and kept harems on board, while hunger and scurvy raged among the crews, and while corpses were daily flung out of the portholes.

Such was the ordinary character of those who were

then called gentlemen Captains. Mingled with them were to be found, happily for our country, naval commanders of a very different description, men whose whole life had been passed on the deep, and who had worked and fought their way from the lowest offices of the fore-castle to rank and distinction. One of the most eminent of these officers was Sir Christopher Mings, who entered the service as a cabin boy, who fell fighting bravely against the Dutch, and whom his crew, weeping and vowing vengeance, carried to the grave. From him sprang, by a singular kind of descent, a line of valiant and expert sailors. His cabin boy was Sir John Narborough; and the cabin boy of Sir John Narborough was Sir Cloudesley Shovel. To the strong natural sense and dauntless courage of this class of men England owes a debt never to be forgotten. It was by such resolute hearts that, in spite of much maladministration, and in spite of the blunders and treasons of more courtly admirals, our coasts were protected and the reputation of our flag upheld during many gloomy and perilous years. But to a landsman these tarpaulins, as they were called, seemed a strange and half savage race. All their knowledge was professional; and their professional knowledge was practical rather than scientific. Off their own element they were as simple as children. Their deportment was uncouth. There was roughness in their very good-nature; and their talk, where it was not made up of nautical phrases, was too commonly made up of oaths and curses. Such were the chiefs in whose rude school were formed those sturdy warriors from whom Smollett in the next age drew Lieutenant Bowling and Commodore Trunnion. But it does not appear that there was in the service of any of the Stuarts a single naval officer such as, according to the notion of our times, a naval officer ought to be, that is to say, a man versed in the theory and

practice of his calling, and steeled against all the dangers of battle and tempest, yet of cultivated mind and polished manners. There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles the Second. But the seamen were not gentlemen; and the gentlemen were not seamen.

The English navy at that time might, according to the most exact estimates which have come down to us, have been kept in an efficient state for three hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year. Four hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum actually expended, but expended, as we have seen, to very little purpose. The cost of the French marine was nearly the same; the cost of the Dutch marine considerably more.¹

The charge of the English ordnance in the seventeenth century was, as compared with other military and naval charges, much smaller than at present. At most of the garrisons there were gunners; and here and there, at an important post, an engineer was to be found. But there was no regiment of artillery, no brigade of sappers and miners, no college in which young soldiers could learn the scientific part of the art of war. The difficulty of moving field pieces was extreme. When, a few years later, William marched from Devonshire to London, the apparatus which he brought with him, though such as had long been in constant use on the Continent, and such as would now be regarded at Woolwich as rude and cumbrous, excited in our ancestors an admiration resembling that which the Indians

¹ My information respecting the condition of the navy, at this time, is chiefly derived from Pepys. His report, presented to Charles the Second in May, 1684, has never, I believe, been printed. The manuscript is at Magdalene College, Cambridge. At Magdalene College is also a valuable manuscript containing a detailed account of the maritime establishment of the country in December, 1684. *Pepys's Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy for Ten Years, determined December, 1688*, and his diary and correspondence during his mission to Tangier, are in print. I have made large use of them. See also Sheffield's *Memoirs*, Teonge's *Diary*, Aubrey's *Life of Monk*, the *Life of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, 1708, Commons' Journals, March 1, and March 20, 1684.

of America felt for the Castilian harquebusses. The stock of gunpowder kept in the English forts and arsenals was boastfully mentioned by patriotic writers as something which might well impress neighbouring nations with awe. It amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand barrels, about a twelfth of the quantity which it is now thought necessary to have in store. The expenditure under the head of ordnance was on an average a little above sixty thousand pounds a year.¹

The whole effective charge of the army, navy, and ordnance was about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The non-effective charge, which is now a heavy part of our public burdens, can hardly be said to have existed. A very small number of naval officers who were not employed in the public service drew half pay. No Lieutenant was on the list, nor any Captain who had not commanded a ship of the first or second rate. As the country then possessed only seventeen ships of the first and second rate that had ever been at sea, and as a large proportion of the persons who had commanded such ships had good posts on shore, the expenditure under this head must have been small indeed.² In the army, half pay was given merely as a special and temporary allowance to a small number of officers belonging to two regiments, which were peculiarly situated.³ Greenwich Hospital had not been founded. Chelsea Hospital was building: but the cost of that institution was defrayed partly by a deduction from the pay of the troops, and partly by private subscription. The King promised to contribute only twenty thousand

¹ Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; Commons' Journals, March 1, and March 20, 1688. In 1833, it was determined, after full enquiry, that a hundred and seventy thousand barrels of gunpowder should constantly be kept in store.

² It appears from the records of the Admiralty, that Flag officers were allowed half pay in 1668, Captains of first and second rates not till 1674.

³ Warrant in the War Office Records, dated March 26, 1678.

pounds for architectural expenses, and five thousand a year for the maintenance of the invalids.¹ It was no part of the plan that there should be outpensioners. The whole non-effective charge, military and naval, can scarcely have exceeded ten thousand pounds a year. It now exceeds ten thousand pounds a day.

Of the expense of civil government only a small portion was defrayed by the crown. The great majority of the functionaries whose business was to administer justice and preserve order either gave their services to the public gratuitously, or were remunerated in a manner which caused no drain on the revenue of the state. The sheriffs, mayors, and aldermen of the towns, the country gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace, the headboroughs, bailiffs, and petty constables, cost the King nothing. The superior courts of law were chiefly supported by fees.

Our relations with foreign courts had been put on the most economical footing. The only diplomatic agent who had the title of Ambassador resided at Constantinople, and was partly supported by the Turkey Company. Even at the Court of Versailles England had only an Envoy; and she had not even an Envoy at the Spanish, Swedish, and Danish courts. The whole expense under this head cannot, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, have much exceeded twenty thousand pounds.²

In this frugality there was nothing laudable. Charles was as usual niggardly in the wrong place, and munificent

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, Jan. 27, 1682. I have seen a privy seal, dated May 17, 1683, which confirms Evelyn's testimony.

² James the Second sent Envoys to Spain, Sweden, and Denmark; yet in his reign the diplomatic expenditure was little more than £30,000 a year. See the Commons' Journals, March 20, 1688. Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684, 1687.

in the wrong place. The public service was starved that courtiers might be pampered. The expense of the navy, of the ordnance, of pensions to needy old officers, of missions to foreign courts, must seem small indeed to the present generation. 5 But the personal favourites of the sovereign, his ministers, and the creatures of those ministers, were gorged with public money. Their salaries and pensions, when compared with the incomes of the nobility, the gentry, the commercial and professional men of that age, will appear 10 enormous. The greatest estates in the kingdom then very little exceeded twenty thousand a year. The Duke of Ormond had twenty-two thousand a year.¹ The Duke of Buckingham, before his extravagance had impaired his great property, had nineteen thousand six hundred 15 a year.² George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who had been rewarded for his eminent services with immense grants of crown land, and who had been notorious both for covetousness and for parsimony, left fifteen thousand a year of real estate, and sixty thousand pounds in money, 20 which probably yielded seven per cent.³ These three Dukes were supposed to be three of the very richest subjects in England. The Archbishop of Canterbury can hardly have had five thousand a year.⁴ The average income of a temporal peer was estimated, by the best 22 informed persons, at about three thousand a year, the average income of a baronet at nine hundred a year, the

Great gains of
ministers and
courtiers.

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

² Pepys's *Diary*, Feb. 14, 1668.

³ See the Report of the Bath and Montague case, which was decided by Lord Keeper Somers, in December, 1693.

⁴ During three quarters of a year, beginning from Christmas, 1689, the revenues of the see of Canterbury were received by an officer appointed by the crown. That officer's accounts are now in the British Museum. (Lansdowne MSS. 885.) The gross revenue for the three quarters was not quite four thousand pounds; and the difference between the gross and the net revenue was evidently something considerable.

average income of a member of the House of Commons at less than eight hundred a year.¹ A thousand a year was thought a large revenue for a barrister. Two thousand a year was hardly to be made in the Court of King's Bench, except by the crown lawyers.² It is evident, therefore, that an official man would have been well paid if he had received a fourth or fifth part of what would now be an adequate stipend. In fact, however, the stipends of the higher class of official men were as large as at present, and not seldom larger. The Lord Treasurer, for example, had eight thousand a year, and, when the Treasury was in commission, the junior Lords had sixteen hundred a year each. The Paymaster of the Forces had a poundage, amounting, in time of peace, to about five thousand a year, on all the money which passed through his hands. The Groom of the Stole had five thousand a year, the Commissioners of the Customs twelve hundred a year each, the Lords of the Bedchamber a thousand a year each.³ The regular salary, however, was the smallest part of the gains of an official man of that age. From the nobleman who held the white staff and the great seal, down to the humblest tidewaiter and gauger, what would now be called gross corruption was practised without disguise and without reproach. Titles, places, commissions, pardons, were daily sold in market overt by the great dignitaries of the realm; and every clerk in every department imitated, to the best of his power, the evil example.

During the last century no prime minister, however powerful, has become rich in office; and several prime ministers have impaired their private fortune in sustain-

¹ King's *Natural and Political Conclusions*. Davenant on the *Balance of Trade*. Sir W. Temple says, "The revenues of a House of Commons have seldom exceeded four hundred thousand pounds"—*Memoirs*, Third Part.

² Langton's *Conversations with Chief Justice Hale*, 1672.

³ Commons' Journals, April 27, 1689; Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684.

ing their public character. In the seventeenth century, a statesman who was at the head of affairs might easily, and without giving scandal, accumulate in no long time an estate amply sufficient to support a dukedom. It is probable that the income of the prime minister, during his tenure of power, far exceeded that of any other subject. The place of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was popularly reported to be worth forty thousand pounds a year.¹ The gains of the Chancellor Clarendon, of Arlington, of Lauderdale, and of Danby, were certainly enormous. The sumptuous palace to which the populace of London gave the name of Dunkirk House, the stately pavilions, the fishponds, the deer park and the orangery of Euston, the more than Italian luxury of Ham, with its busts, fountains, and aviaries, were among the many signs which indicated what was the shortest road to boundless wealth. This is the true explanation of the unscrupulous violence with which the statesmen of that day struggled for office, of the tenacity with which, in spite of vexations, humiliations, and dangers, they clung to it, and of the scandalous compliances to which they stooped in order to retain it. Even in our own age, formidable as is the power of opinion, and high as is the standard of integrity, there would be great risk of a lamentable change in the character of our public men, if the place of First Lord of the Treasury or Secretary of State were worth a hundred thousand pounds a year. Happily for our country the emoluments of the highest class of functionaries have not only not grown in proportion to the general growth of our opulence, but have positively diminished.

The fact that the sum raised in England by taxation has, in a time not exceeding two long lives, been multi-

¹ See the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*.

fields. Deer, as free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands.¹ It is to be remarked, that wild animals of large size were then far more numerous than at present. The last wild boars, indeed, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, and had been allowed to ravage the cultivated land with their tusks, had been slaughtered by the exasperated rustics during the license of the civil war. The last wolf that has roamed our island had been slain in Scotland a short time before the close of the reign of Charles the Second. But many breeds, now extinct or rare, both of quadrupeds and birds, were still common. The fox, whose life is now, in many counties, held almost as sacred as that of a human being, was then considered as a mere nuisance. Oliver Saint John told the Long Parliament that Strafford was to be regarded, not as a stag or a hare, to whom some law was to be given, but as a fox, who was to be snared by any means, and knocked on the head without pity. This illustration would be by no means a happy one, if addressed to country gentlemen of our time: but in Saint John's days there were not seldom great massacres of foxes to which the peasantry thronged with all the dogs that could be mustered: traps were set: nets were spread: no quarter was given; and to shoot a female with cub was considered as a feat which merited the warmest gratitude of the neighbourhood. The red deer were then as common in Gloucestershire and Hampshire as they now are among the Grampian Hills. On one occasion Queen Anne, travelling to Portsmouth, saw a herd of no less than five hundred. The wild bull with his white mane was still to be found wandering in a few of the southern forests. The badger made his dark and tortuous hole on the side of every hill where the copse-

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, June 2, 1675.

wood grew thick. The wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of the rangers of Whittlebury and Needwood. The yellow-breasted marten was still pursued in Cranbourne Chase for his fur, 5 reputed inferior only to that of the sable. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs, from the British Channel to Yorkshire, huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were 10 often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes. Some of these races the progress of cultivation has extirpated. Of others the numbers are so much diminished 15 that men crowd to gaze at a specimen as at a Bengal tiger, or a Polar bear.¹

The progress of this great change can nowhere be more clearly traced than in the Statute Book. The number of enclosure acts passed since King George the 20 Second came to the throne exceeds four thousand. The area enclosed under the authority of those acts exceeds, on a moderate calculation, ten thousand square miles. How many square miles, which were formerly uncultivated or ill cultivated, have, during the same period, 25 been fenced and carefully tilled by the proprietors, without any application to the legislature, can only be conjectured. But it seems highly probable that a fourth part of England has been, in the course of little more than a century, turned from a wild into a garden.

30 Even in those parts of the kingdom which at the close of the reign of Charles the Second were the best culti-

¹ See White's *Selborne*; Bell's *History of British Quadrupeds*; *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686; Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*, 1685; Morton's *History of Northamptonshire*, 1712; Willoughby's *Ornithology*, by Ray, 1678; Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds*; and Sir Thomas Browne's *Account of Birds found in Norfolk*.

vated, the farming, though greatly improved since the civil war, was not such as would now be thought skilful. To this day no effectual steps have been taken by public authority for the purpose of obtaining accurate accounts of the produce of the English soil. The historian must therefore follow, with some misgivings, the guidance of those writers on statistics whose reputation for diligence and fidelity stands highest. At present an average crop of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, is supposed considerably to exceed thirty millions of quarters. The crop of wheat would be thought wretched if it did not exceed twelve millions of quarters. According to the computation made in the year 1696 by Gregory King, the whole quantity of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, then annually grown in the kingdom, was somewhat less than ten millions of quarters. The wheat, which was then cultivated only on the strongest clay, and consumed only by those who were in easy circumstances, he estimated at less than two millions of quarters. Charles Davenant, an acute and well-informed though most unprincipled and rancorous politician, differed from King as to some of the items of the account, but came to nearly the same general conclusions.¹

The rotation of crops was very imperfectly understood. It was known, indeed, that some vegetables lately introduced into our island, particularly the turnip, afforded excellent nutriment in winter to sheep and oxen: but it was not yet the practice to feed cattle in this manner. It was therefore by no means easy to keep them alive during the season when the grass is scanty. They were killed and salted in great numbers at the beginning of the cold weather; and, during several months, even the gentry tasted scarcely any fresh animal food, except game

¹ King's *Natural and Political Conclusions*. Davenant on the *Balance of Trade*.

and river fish, which were consequently much more important articles in housekeeping than at present. It appears from the Northumberland Household Book that, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great Earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas. But in the course of two centuries an improvement had taken place; and under Charles the Second it was not till the beginning of November that families laid in their stock of salt provisions, then called Martinmas beef.¹

The sheep and the ox of that time were diminutive when compared with the sheep and oxen which are now driven to our markets.² Our native horses, though serviceable, were held in small esteem, and fetched low prices. They were valued, one with another, by the ablest of those who computed the national wealth, at not more than fifty shillings each. Foreign breeds were greatly preferred. Spanish jennets were regarded as the finest chargers, and were imported for purposes of pageantry and war. The coaches of the aristocracy were drawn by gray Flemish mares, which trotted, as it was thought, with a peculiar grace, and endured better than any cattle reared in our island the work of dragging a ponderous equipage over the rugged pavement of London. Neither the modern dray horse nor the modern race horse was then known. At a much later period the ancestors of the gigantic quadrupeds, which all foreigners now class among the chief wonders of London, were brought from the marshes of Walcheren; the ancestors of Childers and Eclipse from the sands of Arabia. Already, however, there was among our nobility and gentry

¹ See the Almanacks of 1684 and 1685.

² See Mr. M'Culloch's *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, Part III. chap. i. sec. 6.

a passion for the amusements of the turf. The importance of improving our studs by an infusion of new blood was strongly felt; and with this view a considerable number of barbs had lately been brought into the country. Two men whose authority on such subjects was held in great esteem, the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Fenwick, pronounced that the meanest hack ever imported from Tangier would produce a finer progeny than could be expected from the best sire of our native breed. They would not readily have believed that a time would come when the princes and nobles of neighbouring lands would be as eager to obtain horses from England as ever the English had been to obtain horses from Barbary.¹

The increase of vegetable and animal produce, though great, seems small when compared with the increase of our mineral wealth. In 1685 the tin of Cornwall, which had, more than two thousand years before, attracted the Tyrian sails beyond the pillars of Hercules, was still one of the most valuable subterranean productions of the island. The quantity annually extracted from the earth was found to be, some years later, sixteen hundred tons, probably about a third of what it now is.² But the veins of copper which lie in the same region were, in the time of Charles the Second, altogether neglected, nor did any landowner take them into the account in estimating the value of his property. Cornwall and Wales at present yield annually near fifteen thousand tons of copper, worth near a million and a half sterling; that is to say, worth about twice as much as

Mineral wealth
of the country.

¹ King and Davenant as before; *The Duke of Newcastle on Horsemanship; Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686. The "dappled Flanders mares" were marks of greatness in the time of Pope, and even later.

The vulgar proverb, that the gray mare is the better horse, originated, I suspect, in the preference generally given to the gray mares of Flanders over the finest coach horses of England.

² See a curious note by Tonkin, in Lord De Dunstanville's edition of Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*.

the annual produce of all English mines of all descriptions in the seventeenth century.¹ The first bed of rock salt had been discovered in Cheshire not long after the Restoration, but does not appear to have been worked till much later. The salt which was obtained by a rude process from brine pits was held in no high estimation. The pans in which the manufacture was carried on exhaled a sulphurous stench; and, when the evaporation was complete, the substance which was left was scarcely fit to be used with food. Physicians attributed the scorbutic and pulmonary complaints which were common among the English to this unwholesome condiment. It was therefore seldom used by the upper and middle classes; and there was a regular and considerable importation from France. At present our springs and mines not only supply our own immense demand, but send annually more than seven hundred millions of pounds of excellent salt to foreign countries.²

Far more important has been the improvement of our iron works. Such works had long existed in our island, but had not prospered, and had been regarded with no favourable eye by the government and by the public. It was not then the practice to employ coal for smelting the ore; the rapid consumption of wood excited the alarm of parliamentarians. As early as the reign of Elizabeth there had been loud complaints that whole forests were cut down for the purpose of feeding the furnaces: and the Parliament had interfered to prohibit the manufacturers from buying timber. The manufacture consequently languished. At the close of the reign of Charles

¹ Borlase, *Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758. The quantity of copper now produced, I have taken from parliamentary returns. Davenant, in 1700, estimated the annual produce of all the mines of England at between seven and eight hundred thousand pounds.

² *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 53, Nov., 1669, No. 66, Dec., 1670, No. 103, May, 1674, No. 156, Feb., 1683.

the Second, great part of the iron which was used in this country was imported from abroad; and the whole quantity cast here annually seems not to have exceeded ten thousand tons. At present the trade is thought to be in a depressed state if less than a million of tons are produced in a year.¹

One mineral, perhaps more important than iron itself, remains to be mentioned. Coal, though very little used in any species of manufacture, was already the ordinary fuel in some districts which were fortunate enough to possess large beds, and in the capital, which could easily be supplied by water carriage. It seems reasonable to believe that at least one half of the quantity then extracted from the pits was consumed in London. The consumption of London seemed to the writers of that age enormous, and was often mentioned by them as a proof of the greatness of the imperial city. They scarcely hoped to be believed when they affirmed that two hundred and eighty thousand chaldrons, that is to say, about three hundred and fifty thousand tons, were, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, brought to the Thames. At present three millions and a half of tons are required yearly by the metropolis; and the whole annual produce cannot, on the most moderate computation, be estimated at less than thirty millions of tons.²

While these great changes have been in progress, the rent of land has, as might be expected, been almost

¹ Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land*, 1677; Porter's *Progress of the Nation*. See also a remarkably perspicuous history, in small compass, of the English iron works, in Mr. M'Culloch's *Statistical Account of the British Empire*.

² See Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684, 1687; *Anglia Metropolis*, 1691; M'Culloch's *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, Part III. chap. ii (edition of 1817). In 1845 the quantity of coal brought into London appeared, by the parliamentary returns, to be 3,460,000 tons. (1848) In 1854 the quantity of coal brought into London amounted to 4,378,000 tons. (1857.)

constantly rising. In some districts it has multiplied more than tenfold. In some it has not more than doubled. It has probably, on the average, quadrupled.

5 Of the rent, a large proportion was divided among the country gentlemen, a class of persons whose position and character it is most important that we should clearly understand; for by their influence and by their passions the fate of the nation was, at several important conjunc-
10 tures, determined.

We should be much mistaken if we pictured to ourselves the squires of the seventeenth century as men bearing a close resemblance to their descendants, the county members and chairmen of
15 quarter sessions with whom we are familiar. The modern country gentleman generally receives a liberal education, passes from a distinguished school to a distinguished college, and has ample opportunity to become an excellent scholar. He has generally seen something of foreign
20 countries. A considerable part of his life has generally been passed in the capital; and the refinements of the capital follow him into the country. There is perhaps no class of dwellings so pleasing as the rural seats of the English gentry. In the parks and pleasure grounds,
25 nature, dressed yet not disguised by art, wears her most alluring form. In the buildings, good sense and good taste combine to produce a happy union of the comfortable and the graceful. The pictures, the musical instruments, the library, would in any other country be
30 considered as proving the owner to be an eminently polished and accomplished man. A country gentleman who witnessed the Revolution was probably in receipt of about a fourth part of the rent which his acres now yield to his posterity. He was, therefore, as compared
35 with his posterity, a poor man, and was generally under

the necessity of residing, with little interruption, on his estate. To travel on the Continent, to maintain an establishment in London, or even to visit London frequently, were pleasures in which only the great proprietors could indulge. It may be confidently affirmed, 5 that of the squires whose names were then in the Commissions of Peace and Lieutenancy not one in twenty went to town once in five years, or had ever in his life wandered so far as Paris. Many lords of manors had received an education differing little from that of their 10 menial servants. The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family with no better tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a *Mittimus*. If he went to school and to college, he generally returned 15 before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, 20 handled pigs, and, on market days, made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality. His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear 25 only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself 30 little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded 35

with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcomed to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with 5 claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then was to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great 10 houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity 15 of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table.

It was very seldom that the country gentleman caught glimpses of the great world; and what he saw of it tended rather to confuse than to enlighten his understanding. 20 His opinions respecting religion, government, foreign countries and former times, having been derived, not from study, from observation, or from conversation with enlightened companions, but from such traditions as were current in his own small circle, were the opinions 25 of a child. He adhered to them, however, with the obstinacy which is generally found in ignorant men accustomed to be fed with flattery. His animosities were numerous and bitter. He hated Frenchmen and Italians, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Papists and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, Quakers and Jews. 30 Towards London and Londoners he felt an aversion which more than once produced important political effects. His wife and daughter were in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a stillroom maid 35 of the present day. They stitched and spun, brewed

gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison pasty.

From this description it might be supposed that the English esquire of the seventeenth century did not materially differ from a rustic miller or alehouse keeper of our time. There are, however, some important parts of his character still to be noted, which will greatly modify this estimate. Unlettered as he was and unpolished, he was still in some most important points a gentleman. He was a member of a proud and powerful aristocracy, 10. and was distinguished by many both of the good and of the bad qualities which belong to aristocrats. His family pride was beyond that of a Talbot or a Howard. He knew the genealogies and coats of arms of all his neighbours, and could tell which of them had assumed 15 supporters without any right, and which of them were so unfortunate as to be greatgrandsons of aldermen. He was a magistrate, and, as such, administered gratuitously to those who dwelt around him a rude patriarchal justice, which, in spite of innumerable blunders and of 20 occasional acts of tyranny, was yet better than no justice at all. He was an officer of the trainbands; and his military dignity, though it might move the mirth of gallants who had served a campaign in Flanders, raised his character in his own eyes and in the eyes of his 25 neighbours. Nor indeed was his soldiership justly a subject of derision. In every county there were elderly gentlemen who had seen service which was no child's play. One had been knighted by Charles the First, after the battle of Edgehill. Another still wore a patch 30 over the scar which he had received at Naseby. A third had defended his old house till Fairfax had blown in the door with a petard. The presence of these old Cavaliers, with their old swords and holsters, and with their old stories about Goring and Lunsford, gave to the musters 35

of militia an earnest and warlike aspect which would otherwise have been wanting. Even those country gentlemen who were too young to have themselves exchanged blows with the cuirassiers of the Parliament had, from childhood, been surrounded by the traces of recent war, and fed with stories of the martial exploits of their fathers and uncles. Thus the character of the English esquire of the seventeenth century was compounded of two elements which we seldom or never find united. His ignorance and uncouthness, his low tastes and gross phrases, would, in our time, be considered as indicating a nature and a breeding thoroughly plebeian. Yet he was essentially a patrician, and had, in large measure, both the virtues and the vices which flourish among men set from their birth in high place, and used to respect themselves and to be respected by others. It is not easy for a generation accustomed to find chivalrous sentiments only in company with liberal studies and polished manners to image to itself a man with the deportment, the vocabulary, and the accent of a carter, yet punctilious on matters of genealogy and precedence, and ready to risk his life rather than see a stain cast on the honour of his house. It is, however, only by thus joining together things seldom or never found together in our own experience, that we can form a just idea of that rustic aristocracy which constituted the main strength of the armies of Charles the First, and which long supported, with strange fidelity, the interests of his descendants.

The gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman was commonly a Tory: but, though devotedly attached to hereditary monarchy, he had no partiality for courtiers and ministers. He thought, not without reason, that Whitehall was filled with the most corrupt of mankind, and that of the great sums which the House of Commons

had voted to the crown since the Restoration part had been embezzled by cunning politicians, and part squandered on buffoons and foreign courtizans. His stout English heart swelled with indignation at the thought that the government of his country should be subject to French dictation. Being himself generally an old Cavalier, or the son of an old Cavalier, he reflected with bitter resentment on the ingratitude with which the Stuarts had requited their best friends. Those who heard him grumble at the neglect with which he was treated, and at the profusion with which wealth was lavished on the bastards of Nell Gwynn and Madam Carwell, would have supposed him ripe for rebellion. But all this ill humour lasted only till the throne was really in danger. It was precisely when those whom the sovereign had loaded with wealth and honours shrank from his side that the country gentlemen, so surly and mutinous in the season of his prosperity, rallied round him in a body. Thus, after murmuring twenty years at the misgovernment of Charles the Second, they came to his rescue in his extremity, when his own Secretaries of State and the Lords of his own Treasury had deserted him, and enabled him to gain a complete victory over the opposition; nor can there be any doubt that they would have shown equal loyalty to his brother James, if James would, even at the last moment, have refrained from outraging their strongest feeling. For there was one institution, and one only, which they prized even more than hereditary monarchy; and that institution was the Church of England. Their love of the Church was not, indeed, the effect of study or meditation. Few among them could have given any reason, drawn from Scripture or ecclesiastical history, for adhering to her doctrines, her ritual, and her polity; nor were they, as a class, by any means strict observers of that code of morality which is common to all Christian sects. But the experience of

many ages proves that men may be ready to fight to the death, and to persecute without pity, for a religion whose creed they do not understand, and whose precepts they habitually disobey.¹

5 The rural clergy were even more vehement in Toryism than the rural gentry, and were a class scarcely less important. It is to be observed, however, that
 The clergy. the individual clergyman, as compared with the individual gentleman, then ranked much lower than in
 10 our days. The main support of the Church was derived from the tithe; and the tithe bore to the rent a much smaller ratio than at present. King estimated the whole income of the parochial and collegiate clergy at only four hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year; Davenant
 15 at only five hundred and forty-four thousand a year. It is certainly now more than seven times as great as the larger of these two sums. The average rent of the land has not, according to any estimate, increased proportionally. It follows that the rectors and vicars must have
 20 been, as compared with the neighbouring knights and squires, much poorer in the seventeenth than in the nineteenth century.

The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event,
 25 ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the House of Lords, had, in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. Many of the
 30 Treasurers, and almost all the Chancellors, of the Plantagenets were Bishops. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Master of the Rolls were ordinarily church-

¹ My notion of the country gentleman of the seventeenth century has been derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated. I must leave my description to the judgment of those who have studied the history and the lighter literature of that age.

men. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, all that large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct, was considered as especially belonging to divines. Men, therefore, who were averse to the life of camps, and who were, at the same time, desirous to rise in the state, commonly received the tonsure. Among them were sons of all the most illustrious families, and near kinsmen of the throne, Scroops and Nevilles, Bouchiers, Staffords, and Poles. To the religious houses belonged the rents of immense domains, and all that large portion of the tithe which is now in the hands of laymen. Down to the middle of the reign of Henry the Eighth, therefore, no line of life was so attractive to ambitious and covetous natures as the priesthood. Then came a violent revolution. The abolition of the monasteries deprived the Church at once of the greater part of her wealth, and of her predominance in the Upper House of Parliament. There was no longer an Abbot of Glastonbury or an Abbot of Reading seated among the peers, and possessed of revenues equal to those of a powerful Earl. The princely splendour of William of Wykeham and of William of Waynflete had disappeared. The scarlet hat of the Cardinal, the silver cross of the Legate, were no more. The clergy had also lost the ascendancy which is the natural reward of superior mental cultivation. Once the circumstance that a man could read had raised a presumption that he was in orders. But in an age which produced such laymen as William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, Roger Ascham and Thomas Smith, Walter Mildmay and Francis Walsingham, there was no reason for calling away prelates from their dioceses to negotiate treaties, to superintend the finances, or to administer justice. The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be

regarded as a disqualification. Those worldly motives, therefore, which had formerly induced so many able, aspiring, and high-born youths to assume the ecclesiastical habit, ceased to operate. Not one parish in two hundred
5 then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance. There were still indeed prizes in the Church: but they were few; and even the highest were mean, when compared with the glory which had once surrounded the princes of the hierarchy. The state kept
10 by Parker and Grindal seemed beggarly to those who remembered the imperial pomp of Wolsey, his palaces, which had become the favourite abodes of royalty, Whitehall and Hampton Court, the three sumptuous tables daily spread in his refectory, the forty-four gorgeous copes
15 in his chapel, his running footmen in rich liveries, and his bodyguards with gilded poleaxes. Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes. During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders. At
20 the close of the reign of Charles the Second, two sons of peers were Bishops; four or five sons of peers were priests, and held valuable preferments: but these rare exceptions did not take away the reproach which lay on the body. The clergy were regarded as, on the whole,
25 a plebeian class.¹ And, indeed, for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. A large proportion of those divines who had no benefices, or whose benefices were too small to afford a comfortable revenue, lived in the houses of laymen. It had long been

¹ In the eighteenth century the great increase in the value of benefices produced a change. The younger sons of the nobility were allured back to the clerical profession. Warburton, in a letter to Hurd, dated the 5th of July, 1752, mentions this change, which was then recent:—"Our grantees have at last found their way back into the Church. I only wonder they have been so long about it. But be assured that nothing but a new religious revolution, to sweep away the fragments that Henry the Eighth left after banqueting his courtiers, will drive them out again."

evident that this practice tended to degrade the priestly character. Laud had exerted himself to effect a change; and Charles the First had repeatedly issued positive orders that none but men of high rank should presume to keep domestic chaplains.¹ But these injunctions had become obsolete. Indeed, during the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentlemen; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the re-establishment of monarchy and episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered as an ample return for his food, his lodging, and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentlemen. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots; and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected

¹ See Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*.

to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.¹

Perhaps, after some years of service, he was presented to a living sufficient to support him: but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service: and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour. Indeed, the nature of the matrimonial connections which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly, not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman, but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculcated on every girl of honourable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour.² Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill will to the priesthood, mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks

¹ Eachard, *Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy*; Oldham, *Satire*, addressed to a Friend about to leave the University; *Tatler*, 255, 258. That the English clergy were a low-born class, is remarked in the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*, Appendix A.

² "A cauidico, medicastro, ipsaque atificum farragine, ecclesiæ rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familiæ nitor sacris ordinibus pollutus censetur: fœminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur sæpius præceptum, ne modestiæ naufragium faciant, aut (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat), ne clerico se nuptas dari patiantur."—*Anglia Notitia*, by T. Wood, of New College, Oxford, 1686.

which the great rebellion had produced, that some damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines.¹ A waiting-woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. Queen Elizabeth, as head of the Church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergyman should presume to espouse a servant girl, without the consent of the master or mistress.² During several generations accordingly the relation between divines and handmaidens was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook.³ Even so late as the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.⁴

In general the divine who quitted his chaplainship for a benefice and a wife found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Hardly one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of

¹ *Clarendon's Life*, ii, 21.

² See the injunctions of 1559, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection. Jeremy Collier, in his *Essay on Pride*, speaks of this injunction with a bitterness which proves that his own pride had not been effectually tamed.

³ Roger and Abigail in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, Bull and the Nurse in Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, Smirk and Susan in Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches*, are instances.

⁴ Swift's *Directions to Servants*. I may add that Swift, in his *Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, has elaborately traced the career of two divines, Eugenius and Corusodes, the man of parts and the dunce. Differing in everything else, they both marry low women. Eugenius has to take up with a farmer's widow, and Corusodes with a cast-off mistress.

his parsonage and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dungcarts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service.¹ Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dog-eared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavourable a situation.

Assuredly there was at that time no lack in the English Church of ministers distinguished by abilities and learning. But it is to be observed that these ministers were not scattered among the rural population. They were brought together at a few places where the means of acquiring knowledge were abundant, and where the opportunities of vigorous intellectual exercise were frequent.² At such places were to be found divines qualified by parts, by eloquence, by wide knowledge of literature, of science, and of life, to defend their Church victoriously against heretics and sceptics, to command the attention of frivolous and worldly congregations, to

¹ Even in *Tom Jones*, published two generations later, Mrs Seagrim, the wife of a gamekeeper, and Mrs Honour, a waiting-woman, boast of their descent from clergymen. "It is to be hoped," says Fielding, "such instances will in future ages, when some provision is made for the families of the inferior clergy, appear stranger than they can be thought at present."

² This distinction between country clergy and town clergy is strongly marked by Eachard, and cannot but be observed by every person who has studied the ecclesiastical history of that age

guide the deliberations of senates, and to make religion, respectable, even in the most dissolute of courts. Some laboured to fathom the abysses of metaphysical theology; some were deeply versed in biblical criticism; and some threw light on the darkest parts of ecclesiastical history. 5 Some proved themselves consummate masters of logic. Some cultivated rhetoric with such assiduity and success that their discourses are still justly valued as models of style. These eminent men were to be found, with scarcely a single exception, at the Universities, at the 10 great Cathedrals, or in the capital. Barrow had lately died at Cambridge; and Pearson had gone thence to the episcopal bench. Cudworth and Henry More were still living there. South and Pococke, Jane and Aldrich, were at Oxford. Prideaux was in the close of Norwich, and 15 Whitby in the close of Salisbury. But it was chiefly by the London clergy, who were always spoken of as a class apart, that the fame of their profession for learning and eloquence was upheld. The principal pulpits of the metropolis were occupied about this time by a crowd of 20 distinguished men, from among whom was selected a large proportion of the rulers of the Church. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Wake and Jeremy Collier at Gray's Inn, Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingfleet at Saint Paul's Cathedral, Patrick at Saint 25 Paul's in Covent Garden, Fowler at Saint Giles's, Cripplegate, Sharp at Saint Giles's in the Fields, Tenison at Saint Martin's, Sprat at Saint Margaret's, Beveridge at Saint Peter's in Cornhill. Of these twelve men, all of high note in ecclesiastical history, ten became Bishops, 30 and four Archbishops. Meanwhile almost the only important theological works which came forth from a rural parsonage were those of George Bull, afterwards Bishop of Saint David's; and Bull never would have produced those works, had he not inherited an estate, by 35

the sale of which he was enabled to collect a library, such as probably no other country clergyman in England possessed.¹

Thus the Anglican priesthood was divided into two sections, which, in acquirements, in manners, and in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning; men able to encounter Hobbes or Bossuet at all the weapons of controversy; men who could, in their sermons, set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought, and such energy of language, that the indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer; men whose address, politeness, and knowledge of the world qualified them to manage the consciences of the wealthy and noble; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write.² The other section was destined to a cruder and humbler service. It was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants. Yet it was in these rustic priests, who derived but a scanty subsistence from their tithe sheaves and tithe pigs, and who had not the smallest chance of ever attaining high professional honours, that the professional spirit was strongest. Among those divines who were the boast of the Universities and the delight of the capital, and who had attained, or might reasonably expect to attain, opulence and lordly rank, a party, respect-

¹ Nelson's *Life of Bull*. As to the extreme difficulty which the country clergy found in procuring books, see the *Life of Thomas Bray*, the founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

² "I have frequently heard him (Dryden) own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson."—Congreve's *Dedication of Dryden's Plays*.

dividual capacity. A Cardinal is a much more exalted personage than a begging friar: but it would be a grievous mistake to suppose that the College of Cardinals has exercised a greater dominion over the public mind of Europe than the Order of St. Francis. In Ireland, at present, a peer holds a far higher station in society than a Roman Catholic priest: yet there are in Munster and Connaught few counties where a combination of priests would not carry an election against a combination of peers. In the seventeenth century the pulpit was to a large portion of the population what the periodical press now is. Scarce any of the clowns who came to the parish church ever saw a Gazette or a political pamphlet. Ill informed as their spiritual pastor might be, he was yet better informed than themselves; he had every week an opportunity of haranguing them; and his harangues were never answered. At every important conjuncture, invectives against the Whigs and exhortations to obey the Lord's anointed resounded at once from many thousands of pulpits; and the effect was formidable indeed. Of all the causes which, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, produced the violent reaction against the Exclusionists, the most potent seems to have been the oratory of the country clergy.

The power which the country gentlemen and the country clergymen exercised in the rural districts was in some measure counterbalanced by the power of the yeomanry, an eminently manly and true-hearted race. The petty proprietors who cultivated their own fields with their own hands, and enjoyed a modest competence, without affecting to have scutcheons and crests, or aspiring to sit on the bench of justice, then formed a much more important part of the nation than at present. If we may trust the best statistical writers of that age, not less than a hundred and sixty thousand pro-

prietors, who with their families must have made up more than a seventh of the whole population, derived their subsistence from little freehold estates. The average income of these small landholders, an income made up of rent, profit, and wages, was estimated at between sixty and seventy pounds a year. It was computed that the number of persons who tilled their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others.¹ A large portion of the yeomanry had, from the time of the Reformation, leaned towards Puritanism, had, in the civil war, taken the side of the Parliament, had, after the Restoration, persisted in hearing Presbyterian and Independent preachers, had, at elections, strenuously supported the Exclusionists, and had continued, even after the discovery of the Rye House Plot and the proscription of the Whig leaders, to regard Popery and arbitrary power with unmitigated hostility.

Great as has been the change in the rural life of England since the Revolution, the change which has come to pass in the cities is still more amazing. At present above a sixth part of the nation is crowded into provincial towns of more than thirty thousand inhabitants. In the reign of Charles the Second no provincial town in the kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants; and only four provincial towns contained so many as ten thousand inhabitants.

Next to the capital, but next at an immense distance, stood Bristol, then the first English seaport, and Norwich, then the first English manufacturing town. Both have since that time been far outstripped by younger rivals; yet both have made great positive advances. The population of Bristol has quadrupled. The population of Norwich has more than doubled.

Pepys, who visited Bristol eight years after the Restora-

¹ I have taken Davenant's estimate, which is a little lower than King's.

tion, was struck by the splendour of the city. But his standard was not high; for he noted down as a wonder the circumstance that, in Bristol, a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. It seems that, in no other place with which he was acquainted, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields. Large as Bristol might then appear, it occupied but a very small portion of the area on which it now stands. A few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer. The pomp of the christenings and burials far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England. The hospitality of the city was widely renowned, and especially the collations with which the sugar refiners regaled their visitors. The repast was dressed in the furnace, and was accompanied by a rich beverage made of the best Spanish wine, and celebrated over the whole kingdom as Bristol milk. This luxury was supported by a thriving trade with the North American plantations and with the West Indies. The passion for colonial traffic was so strong that there was scarcely a small shopkeeper in Bristol who had not a venture on board of some ship bound for Virginia or the Antilles. Some of these ventures indeed were not of the most honourable kind. There was, in the Transatlantic possessions of the crown, a great demand for labour; and this demand was partly supplied by a system of crimping and kidnapping at the

principal English seaports. Nowhere was this system in such active and extensive operation as at Bristol. Even the first magistrates of that city were not ashamed to enrich themselves by so odious a commerce. The number of houses appears, from the returns of the hearth money, ⁵ to have been, in the year 1685, just five thousand three hundred. We can hardly suppose the number of persons in a house to have been greater than in the city of London; and in the city of London we learn from the best authority that there were then fifty-five persons to ten ¹⁰ houses. The population of Bristol must therefore have been about twenty-nine thousand souls.¹

Norwich was the capital of a large and fruitful province. It was the residence of a Bishop and of a Chapter. It was the chief seat of the chief manufacture of ¹⁵ the realm. Some men distinguished by learning and science had recently dwelt there; and no place in the kingdom, except the capital and the Universities, had more attractions for the curious. The library, the museum, the aviary, and the botanical garden of Sir ²⁰ Thomas Brownē, were thought by Fellows of the Royal Society well worthy of a long pilgrimage. Norwich had also a court in miniature. In the heart of the city stood an old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, said to be the largest town house in the kingdom out of London. In ²⁵ this mansion, to which were annexed a tennis court, a bowling green, and a wilderness, stretching along the banks of the Wansum, the noble family of Howard fre-

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, June 27, 1654; Pepys's *Diary*, June 13, 1668; Roger North's *Lives of Lord Keeper Guildford*, and of Sir Dudley North; Petty's *Political Arithmetic*. I have taken Petty's facts, but, in drawing inferences from them, I have been guided by King and Davenant, who, though not abler men than he, had the advantage of coming after him. As to the kidnapping for which Bristol was infamous, see North's *Life of Guildford*, 121, 216, and the harangue of Jeffreys on the subject, in the *Impartial History of His Life and Death*, printed with the *Bloody Assizes*. His style was, as usual, coarse; but I cannot reckon the reprimand which he gave to the magistrates of Bristol among his crimes.

quently resided, and kept a state resembling that of petty sovereigns. Drink was served to guests in goblets of pure gold. The very tongs and shovels were of silver. Pictures by Italian masters adorned the walls. The
 5 cabinets were filled with a fine collection of gems purchased by that Earl of Arundel whose marbles are now among the ornaments of Oxford. Here, in the year 1671, Charles and his court were sumptuously entertained. Here, too, all comers were annually welcomed, from
 10 Christmas to Twelfth Night. Ale flowed in oceans for the populace. Three coaches, one of which had been built at a cost of five hundred pounds to contain fourteen persons, were sent every afternoon round the city to bring ladies to the festivities; and the dances were al-
 15 ways followed by a luxurious banquet. When the Duke of Norfolk came to Norwich, he was greeted like a King returning to his capital. The bells of the Cathedral and of Saint Peter Mancroft were rung: the guns of the castle were fired; and the Mayor and Aldermen waited on their
 20 illustrious fellow citizen with complimentary addresses. In the year 1693 the population of Norwich was found, by actual enumeration, to be between twenty-eight and twenty-nine thousand souls.¹

Far below Norwich, but still high in dignity and im-
 25 portance, were some other ancient capitals of shires. In that age it was seldom that a country gentleman went up with his family to London. The county town was his metropolis. He sometimes made it his residence, during part of the year. At all events, he was often
 30 attracted thither by business and pleasure, by assizes, quarter sessions, elections, musters of militia, festivals and races. There were the halls where the judges, robed in scarlet and escorted by javelins and trumpets, opened

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*; Evelyn's *Diary*, Oct. 17, 1671; *Journal of E. Browne*, son of Sir Thomas Browne, Jan. 1667; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*; *History of the City and County of Norwich*, 2 vols 1768.

the King's commission twice a year. There were the markets at which the corn, the cattle, the wool, and the hops of the surrounding country were exposed to sale. There were the great fairs to which merchants came down from London, and where the rural dealer laid in his annual stores of sugar, stationery, cutlery, and muslin. There were the shops at which the best families of the neighbourhood bought grocery and millinery. Some of these places derived dignity from interesting historical recollections, from cathedrals decorated by all the art and magnificence of the middle ages, from palaces where a long succession of prelates had dwelt, from closes surrounded by the venerable abodes of deans and canons, and from castles which had in the old time repelled the Nevilles or De Veres, and which bore more recent traces of the vengeance of Rupert or of Cromwell.

Conspicuous amongst these interesting cities, were York, the capital of the north, and Exeter, the capital of the west. Neither can have contained much more than ten thousand inhabitants. Worcester, the queen of the cider land, had but eight thousand; Nottingham probably as many. Gloucester, renowned for that resolute defence which had been fatal to Charles the First, had certainly between four and five thousand; Derby not quite four thousand. Shrewsbury was the chief place of an extensive and fertile district. The Court of the Marches of Wales was held there. In the language of the gentry many miles round the Wrekin, to go to Shrewsbury was to go to town. The provincial wits and beauties imitated, as well as they could, the fashions of Saint James's Park, in the walks along the side of the Severn. The inhabitants were about seven thousand.¹

¹ The population of York appears, from the return of baptisms and burials, in Drake's *History*, to have been about 13,000 in 1730. Exeter had only 17,000

The population of every one of these places has, since the Revolution, much more than doubled. The population of some has multiplied sevenfold. The streets have been almost entirely rebuilt. Slate has succeeded to thatch, and brick to timber. The pavements and the lamps, the display of wealth in the principal shops, and the luxurious neatness of the dwellings occupied by the gentry would, in the seventeenth century, have seemed miraculous. Yet is the relative importance of the old capitals of counties by no means what it was. Younger towns, towns which are rarely or never mentioned in our early history and which sent no representatives to our early Parliaments, have, within the memory of persons still living, grown to a greatness which this generation contemplates with wonder and pride, not unaccompanied by awe and anxiety.

The most eminent of these towns were indeed known in the seventeenth century as respectable seats of industry. Nay, their rapid progress and their vast opulence were then sometimes described in language which seems ludicrous to a man who has seen their present grandeur.

One of the most populous and prosperous among them was Manchester. Manchester had been required by the Protector to send one representative to his Parliament, and was mentioned by writers of the time of Charles the Second as a busy and opulent town.

inhabitants in 1801. The population of Manchester was numbered just before the siege in 1646. See Nash's *History of Lancashire*. I have made allowance for the increase which must be supposed to have taken place in forty years. In 1740, the population of Nottingham was found to be just 10,000. See Dering's *History*. The population of Gloucester, to be just 10,000. See number of houses which King found in the must, may readily be inferred from the number of births and burials which is given as of hearth money, and from the of Derby was 4000 in 1712. See Wolley's *Rolls of Shire's History*. The population of *Britannia*. The population of Shrewsbury, as ascertained, in 1695, by actual enumeration. As to the gaieties of Shrewsbury, see Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*. Farquhar's description is borne out by a ballad in the Pepysian Library, of which the burden is "Shrewsbury for me".

place. Cotton had, during half a century, been brought thither from Cyprus and Smyrna; but the manufacture was in its infancy. Whitney had not yet taught how the raw material might be furnished in quantities almost fabulous. Arkwright had not yet taught how it might be worked up with a speed and precision which seem magical. The whole annual import did not, at the end of the seventeenth century, amount to two millions of pounds, a quantity which would now hardly supply the demand of forty-eight hours. That wonderful emporium, which in population and wealth far surpasses capitals so much renowned as Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon, was then a mean and ill built market town, containing under six thousand people. It then had not a single press. It now supports a hundred printing establishments. It then had not a single coach. It now supports twenty coachmakers.¹

Leeds was already the chief seat of the woollen manufactures of Yorkshire: but the elderly inhabitants could still remember the time when the first brick house, then and long after called the Red House, was built. They boasted loudly of their increasing wealth, and of the immense sales of cloth which took place in the open air on the bridge. Hundreds, nay thousands of pounds, had been paid down in the course of one busy market day. The rising importance of Leeds had attracted the notice of successive governments. Charles the First had granted municipal privileges to the town. Oliver had invited it to send one member to the House of Commons. But from the returns of the hearth money it seems certain that the whole population of the borough,

¹ Blome's *Britannia*, 1673; Aikin's *Country round Manchester*; *Manchester Directory*, 1845; Baine's *History of the Cotton-Manufacture*. The best information which I have been able to find, touching the population of Manchester in the seventeenth century, is contained in a paper drawn up by the Reverend R. Parkinson, and published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* for October, 1842.

an extensive district which contains many hamlets, did not, in the reign of Charles the Second, exceed seven thousand souls. In 1841 there were more than a hundred and fifty thousand.¹

5 About a day's journey south of Leeds, on the verge of a wild moorland tract, lay an ancient manor, now rich with cultivation, then barren and unenclosed, Sheffield. which was known by the name of Hallamshire.

Iron abounded there; and, from a very early period, the rude whittles fabricated there had been sold all over the
10 kingdom. They had indeed been mentioned by Geoffrey Chaucer in one of his Canterbury Tales. But the manufacture appears to have made little progress during the three centuries which followed his time. This languor
15 may perhaps be explained by the fact that the trade was, during almost the whole of this long period, subject to such regulations as the lord and his court leet thought fit to impose. The more delicate kinds of cutlery were either made in the capital or brought from the Continent.
20 Indeed it was not till the reign of George the First that the English surgeons ceased to import from France those exquisitely fine blades which are required for operations on the human frame. Most of the Hallamshire forges were collected in a market town which had sprung up
25 near the castle of the proprietor, and which, in the reign of James the First, had been a singularly miserable place, containing about two thousand inhabitants, of whom a third were half starved and half naked beggars. It seems certain from the parochial registers that the population
30 did not amount to four thousand at the end of the reign of Charles the Second. The effects of a species of toil singularly unfavourable to the health and vigour of the human frame were at once discerned by every traveller.

¹Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodensis*; Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*; Wardell's *Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds*. (1848.) In 1851 Leeds had 172,000 inhabitants. (1857.)

A large proportion of the people had distorted limbs. This is that Sheffield which now, with its dependencies, contains a hundred and twenty thousand souls, and which sends forth its admirable knives, razors, and lancets to the farthest ends of the world.¹

Birmingham had not been thought of sufficient importance to return a member to Oliver's Parliament. Yet the manufacturers of Birmingham were already a busy and thriving race. They boasted that their hardware was highly esteemed, not indeed as now, at Pekin and Lima, at Bokhara and Timbuctoo, but in London, and even as far off as Ireland. They had acquired a less honourable renown as coiners of bad money. In allusion to their spurious groats, some Tory wit had fixed on demagogues, who hypocritically affected zeal against Popery, the nickname of Birmingham. Yet in 1685 the population, which is now little less than two hundred thousand, did not amount to four thousand. Birmingham buttons were just beginning to be known: of Birmingham guns nobody had yet heard; and the place whence, two generations later, the magnificent editions of Baskerville went forth to astonish all the librarians of Europe, did not contain a single regular shop where a Bible or an almanack could be bought. On market days a bookseller named Michael Johnson, the father of the great Samuel Johnson, came over from Lichfield, and opened a stall during a few hours. This supply of literature was long found equal to the demand.²

¹ Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*. (1848.) In 1851 the population of Sheffield had increased to 135,000. (1857.)

² Blome's *Britannia*, 1673; Dugdale's *Warwickshire*; North's *Examen*, 321; Preface to *Absalom and Achitophel*; Hutton's *History of Birmingham*; Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. In 1690, the burials at Birmingham were 150, the baptisms 125. I think it probable that the annual mortality was little less than one in twenty-five. In London it was considerably greater. A historian of Nottingham, half a century later, boasted of the extraordinary salubrity of his town, where the annual mortality was one in thirty. See Dering's *History of Nottingham* (1848.) In 1851 the population of Birmingham had increased to 232,000. (1857.)

These four seats of our great manufactures deserve especial mention. It would be tedious to enumerate all the populous and opulent hives of industry which, a hundred and fifty years ago, were hamlets without parish churches, or desolate moors inhabited only by grouse and wild deer. Nor has the change been less signal in those outlets by which the products of the English looms and
5 forges are poured forth over the whole world.
Liverpool. At present Liverpool contains more than three
10 hundred thousand inhabitants. The shipping registered at her port amounts to between four and five hundred thousand tons. Into her custom house has been repeatedly paid in one year a sum more than thrice as great as the whole income of the English crown in 1685.
15 The receipts of her post office, even since the great reduction of the duty, exceed the sum which the postage of the whole kingdom yielded to the Duke of York. Her endless docks, quays, and warehouses are among the wonders of the world. Yet even those docks and quays
20 and warehouses seem hardly to suffice for the gigantic trade of the Mersey; and already a rival city is growing fast on the opposite shore. In the days of Charles the Second, Liverpool was described as a rising town which had recently made great advances, and which maintained
25 a profitable intercourse with Ireland and with the sugar colonies. The customs had multiplied eightfold within sixteen years, and amounted to what was then considered as the immense sum of fifteen thousand pounds annually. But the population can hardly have exceeded four
30 thousand: the shipping was about fourteen hundred tons, less than the tonnage of a single modern Indiaman of the first class; and the whole number of seamen belonging to the port cannot be estimated at more than two hundred.¹

¹ Blome's *Britannia*; Gregson's *Antiquities of the County Palatine and*

Such has been the progress of those towns where wealth is created and accumulated. Not less rapid has been the progress of towns of a very different kind, towns in which wealth, created and accumulated elsewhere, is expended for purposes of health and recreation. Watering places. Some of the most remarkable of these gay places have sprung into existence since the time of the Stuarts. Cheltenham is now a greater city than any Cheltenham. which the kingdom contained in the seventeenth century, London alone excepted. But in the ¹⁰ seventeenth century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth, Cheltenham was mentioned by local historians merely as a rural parish lying under the Cotswold Hills, and affording good ground both for tillage and pasture. Corn grew and cattle browsed over the space now ¹⁵ covered by that long succession of streets and villas.¹ Brighton was described as a place which had Brighton. once been thriving, which had possessed many small fishing barks, and which had, when at the height of prosperity, contained about two thousand inhabitants, ²⁰ but which was sinking fast into decay. The sea was gradually gaining on the buildings, which at length almost entirely disappeared. Ninety years ago the ruins of an old fort were to be seen lying among the pebbles and seaweed on the beach, and ancient men could still ²⁵ point out the traces of foundations on a spot where a street of more than a hundred huts had been swallowed up by the waves. So desolate was the place after this calamity, that the vicarage was thought scarcely worth having. A few poor fishermen, however, still continued ³⁰ to dry their nets on those cliffs, on which now a town,

Duchy of Lancaster, Part II; Petition from Liverpool in the Privy Council Book, May 10, 1686. In 1690 the burials at Liverpool were 151, the baptisms 120. In 1844 the net receipt of the customs at Liverpool was £4,365,526, 1s. 8d. (1848.) In 1851 Liverpool contained 375,000 inhabitants. (1857.)

¹ Atkyns's *Gloucestershire*.

more than twice as large and populous as the Bristol of the Stuarts, presents, mile after mile, its gay and fantastic front to the sea.¹

England, however, was not, in the seventeenth century, destitute of watering places. The gentry of Derbyshire

and of the neighbouring counties repaired to

Buxton.

Buxton, where they were lodged in low rooms under bare rafters, and regaled with oatcake, and with a viand which the hosts called mutton, but which the guests suspected to be dog. A single good house stood

near the spring.² Tunbridge Wells, lying

Tunbridge Wells.

within a day's journey of the capital, and in one of the richest and most highly civilized parts of the kingdom, had much greater attractions. At present we

see there a town which would, a hundred and sixty years ago, have ranked in population fourth or fifth among the towns of England. The brilliancy of the shops and the luxury of the private dwellings far surpasses anything that England could then show. When the court, soon after

the Restoration, visited Tunbridge Wells, there was no town: but within a mile of the spring, rustic cottages, somewhat cleaner and neater than the ordinary cottages of that time, were scattered over the heath. Some of

these cabins were movable, and were carried on sledges from one part of the common to another. To these huts men of fashion, wearied with the din and smoke of London, sometimes came in the summer to breathe fresh air, and to catch a glimpse of rural life. During the season a kind of fair was daily held near the fountain.

The wives and daughters of the Kentish farmers came from the neighbouring villages with cream, cherries, wheatears, and quails. To chaffer with them, to flirt

¹ *Magna Britannia*; Grose's *Antiquities*; *New Brighthelmstone Directory*, 1770.

² *Tour in Derbyshire*, by Thomas Browne, son of Sir Thomas.

with them, to praise their straw hats and tight heels, was a refreshing pastime to voluptuaries sick of the airs of actresses and maids of honour. Milliners, toymen, and jewellers came down from London, and opened a bazaar under the trees. In one booth the politician might find his coffee and the *London Gazette*; in another were gamblers playing deep at basset; and, on fine evenings, the fiddles were in attendance, and there were morris dances on the elastic turf of the bowling green. In 1685, a subscription had just been raised among those who frequented the wells for building a church, which the Tories, who then domineered everywhere, insisted on dedicating to Saint Charles the Martyr.¹

But at the head of the English watering places, without a rival, was Bath. The springs of that city had been renowned from the days of the Romans. It had been, during many centuries, the seat of a Bishop. The sick repaired thither from every part of the realm. The King sometimes held his court there. Nevertheless, Bath was then a maze of only four or five hundred houses, crowded within an old wall in the vicinity of the Avon. Pictures of what were considered as the finest of those houses are still extant, and greatly resemble the lowest rag shops and pothouses of Ratcliffe Highway. Travellers, indeed, complained loudly of the narrowness and mean-
Bath.
 ness of the streets. That beautiful city which charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio, and which the genius of Anstey and of Smollett, of Frances Burney and of Jane Austen, has made classic ground, had not begun to exist. Milsom Street itself was an open field lying far beyond the walls; and hedges-
20
 rows intersected the space which is now covered by the
30

¹ *Mémoires de Grammont*; Hasted's *History of Kent*; *Tunbridge Wells, a Comedy*, 1678; Causton's *Tunbridgialia*, 1688; *Metellus*, a poem on Tunbridge Wells, 1693

Crescent and the Circus. The poor patients to whom the waters had been recommended lay on straw in a place which, to use the language of a contemporary physician, was a covert rather than a lodging. As to the comforts and luxuries which were to be found in the interior of the houses of Bath by the fashionable visitors who resorted thither in search of health or amusement, we possess information more complete and minute than can generally be obtained on such subjects. A writer who published an account of that city about sixty years after the Revolution has accurately described the changes which had taken place within his own recollection. He assures us that, in his younger days, the gentlemen who visited the springs slept in rooms hardly as good as the garrets which he lived to see occupied by footmen. The floors of the dining-rooms were uncarpeted, and were coloured brown with a wash made of soot and small beer, in order to hide the dirt. Not a wainscot was painted. Not a hearth or a chimney-piece was of marble. A slab of common freestone and fire-irons which had cost from three to four shillings were thought sufficient for any fireplace. The best apartments were hung with coarse woollen stuff, and were furnished with rush-bottomed chairs. Readers who take an interest in the progress of civilization and of the useful arts will be grateful to the humble topographer who has recorded these facts, and will perhaps wish that historians of far higher pretensions had sometimes spared a few pages from military evolutions and political intrigues, for the purpose of letting us know how the parlours and bed-chambers of our ancestors looked.¹

¹ See Wood's *History of Bath*, 1749; Evelyn's *Diary*, June 27, 1654; Pepys's *Diary*, June 12, 1668; Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*; Collinson's *Somersetshire*; Dr. Peirce's *History and Memoirs of the Bath*, 1713, Book I, chap. viii. obs. 2, 1684. I have consulted several old maps and pictures of Bath, particularly one curious map which is surrounded by views of the principal buildings. It bears the date of 1717.

The position of London relatively to the other towns of the empire, was, in the time of Charles the Second, far higher than at present. For at present the population of London is little more than six times ^{London.} the population of Manchester or of Liverpool. In the 5 days of Charles the Second the population of London was more than seventeen times the population of Bristol or of Norwich. It may be doubted whether any other instance can be mentioned of a great kingdom in which the first city was more than seventeen times as large as 10 the second. There is reason to believe that, in 1685, London had been, during about half a century, the most populous capital in Europe. The inhabitants, who are now at least nineteen hundred thousand, were then probably little more than half a million.¹ London had in 15 the world only one commercial rival, now long ago outstripped, the mighty and opulent Amsterdam. English writers boasted of the forest of masts and yardarms which covered the river from the Bridge to the Tower, and of the stupendous sums which were collected at the 20 Custom House in Thames Street. There is, indeed, no doubt that the trade of the metropolis then bore a far greater proportion than at present to the whole trade of the country; yet to our generation the honest vaunting of our ancestors must appear almost ludicrous. The 25 shipping which they thought incredibly great appears not to have exceeded seventy thousand tons. This was, indeed, then more than a third of the whole tonnage of the kingdom, but is now less than a fourth of the tonnage of Newcastle, and is nearly equalled by the 30 tonnage of the steam vessels of the Thames. The customs of London amounted, in 1685, to about three hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year. In our

¹ According to King, 530,000. (1848.) In 1851 the population of London exceeded 2,300,000. (1857.)

time the net duty paid annually, at the same place, exceeds ten millions.¹

Whoever examines the maps of London which were published towards the close of the reign of Charles the
 5 Second will see that only the nucleus of the present capital then existed. The town did not, as now, fade by imperceptible degrees into the country. No long avenues of villas, embowered in lilacs and laburnums, extended from the great centre of wealth and civilization
 10 almost to the boundaries of Middlesex and far into the heart of Kent and Surrey. In the east, no part of the immense line of warehouses and artificial lakes which now stretches from the Tower to Blackwall had even been projected. On the west, scarcely one of those
 15 stately piles of building which are inhabited by the noble and wealthy was in existence; and Chelsea, which is now peopled by more than forty thousand human beings, was a quiet country village with about a thousand inhabitants.² On the north, cattle fed, and sportsmen wan-
 20 dered with dogs and guns, over the site of the borough of Marylebone, and over far the greater part of the space now covered by the boroughs of Finsbury and of the Tower Hamlets. Islington was almost a solitude; and poets loved to contrast its silence and repose with the
 25 din and turmoil of the monster London.³ On the south the capital is now connected with its suburb by several bridges, not inferior in magnificence and solidity to the

¹ Macpherson's *History of Commerce*; Chalmer's *Estimate*; Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684. The tonnage of the steamers belonging to the port of London was, at the end of 1847, about 60,000 tons. The customs of the port, from 1842 to 1845, very nearly averaged £11,000,000 (1848). In 1854 the tonnage of the steamers of the port of London amounted to 133,000 tons without reckoning vessels of less than fifty tons (1857.)

² Lyson's *Entouras of London*. The baptisms at Chelsea, between 1680 and 1690, were only forty-two a year.

³ Cowley, *Discourse of Solitude*.

noblest works of the Cæsars. In 1685, a single line of irregular arches, overhung by piles of mean and crazy houses, and garnished, after a fashion worthy of the naked barbarians of Dahomy, with scores of mouldering heads, impeded the navigation of the river. 5

Of the metropolis, the City, properly so called, was the most important division. At the time of the Restoration it had been built, for the most part, of wood and plaster; the few bricks that were used The City. were ill baked; the booths where goods were exposed 10 to sale projected far into the streets, and were overhung by the upper stories. A few specimens of this architecture may still be seen in those districts which were not reached by the great fire. That fire had, in a few days, covered a space of little less than a square mile, with the 15 ruins of eighty-nine churches and of thirteen thousand houses. But the City had risen again with a celerity which had excited the admiration of neighbouring countries. Unfortunately the old lines of the streets had been to a great extent preserved; and those lines, originally 20 traced in an age when even princesses performed their journeys on horseback, were often too narrow to allow wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease, and were therefore ill-adapted for the residence of wealthy persons in an age when a coach and six was a fashionable luxury. 25 The style of building was, however, far superior to that of the City which had perished. The ordinary material was brick, of much better quality than had formerly been used. On the sites of the ancient parish churches had arisen a multitude of new domes, towers, and spires 30 which bore the mark of the fertile genius of Wren. In every place, save one, the traces of the great devastation had been completely effaced. But the crowds of workmen, the scaffolds, and the masses of hewn stone were still to be seen where the noblest of Protestant temples 35

was slowly rising on the ruins of the old Cathedral of St. Paul.¹

The whole character of the City has, since that time, undergone a complete change. At present the bankers, the merchants, and the chief shopkeepers repair thither on six mornings of every week for the transaction of business: but they reside in other quarters of the metropolis, or at suburban country seats surrounded by shrubberies and flower gardens. This revolution in private habits has produced a political revolution of no small importance. The City is no longer regarded by the wealthiest traders with that attachment which every man naturally feels for his home. It is no longer associated in their minds with domestic affections and endearments. The fireside, the nursery, the social table, the quiet bed are not there. Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street are merely places where men toil and accumulate. They go elsewhere to enjoy and to expend. On a Sunday, or in an evening after the hours of business, some courts and alleys, which a few hours before had been alive with hurrying feet and anxious faces, are as silent as the glades of a forest. The chiefs of the mercantile interest are no longer citizens. They avoid, they almost contemn, municipal honours and duties. Those honours and duties are abandoned to men who, though useful and highly respectable, seldom belong to the princely commercial houses of which the names are renowned throughout the world.

In the seventeenth century the City was the merchant's residence. Those mansions of the great old burghers

¹ The fullest and most trustworthy information about the state of the buildings of London at this time is to be derived from the maps and drawings in the British Museum and in the Pepysian Library. The badness of the bricks in the old buildings of London is particularly mentioned in the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*. There is an account of the works at St. Paul's in Ward's *London Spy*. I am almost ashamed to quote such nauseous balderdash; but I have been forced to descend even lower, if possible, in search of materials.

which still exist have been turned into counting houses and warehouses; but it is evident that they were originally not inferior in magnificence to the dwellings which were then inhabited by the nobility. They sometimes stand in retired and gloomy courts, and are accessible only by 5 inconvenient passages: but their dimensions are ample, and their aspect stately. The entrances are decorated with richly carved pillars and canopies. The staircases and landing-places are not wanting in grandeur. The floors are sometimes of wood, tessellated after the fashion 10 of France. The palace of Sir Robert Clayton, in the old Jewry, contained a superb banqueting room, wainscoted with cedar, and adorned with battles of gods and giants in fresco.¹ Sir Dudley North expended four thousand pounds, a sum which would then have been important 15 to a Duke, on the rich furniture of his reception rooms in Basinghall Street.² In such abodes, under the last Stuarts, the heads of the great firms lived splendidly and hospitably. To their dwelling place they were bound by the strongest ties of interest and affection. There they 20 had passed their youth; had made their friendships, had courted their wives, had seen their children grow up, had laid the remains of their parents in the earth, and expected that their own remains would be laid. That intense patriotism which is peculiar to the members of 25 societies congregated within a narrow space was, in such circumstances, strongly developed. London was to the Londoner, what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles, what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur 30 of his city, punctilious about her claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises.

At the close of the reign of Charles the Second the

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, Sept. 20, 1672.

² Roger North's *Life of Sir Dudley North*.

pride of the Londoners was smarting from a cruel mortification. The old charter had been taken away; and the magistracy had been remodelled. All the civic functionaries were Tories; and the Whigs, though in numbers and in wealth superior to their opponents, found themselves excluded from every local dignity. Nevertheless, the external splendour of the municipal government was not diminished, nay, was rather increased by this change. For, under the administration of some Puritans who had lately borne rule, the ancient fame of the City for good cheer had declined: but under the new magistrates, who belonged to a more festive party, and at whose boards guests of rank and fashion from beyond Temple Bar were often seen, the Guildhall and the halls of the great companies were enlivened by many sumptuous banquets. During these repasts, odes, composed by the poet laureate of the corporation, in praise of the King, the Duke, and the Mayor, were sung to music. The drinking was deep, the shouting loud. An observant Tory, who had often shared in these revels, has remarked that the practice of huzzaing after drinking healths 'dates from this joyous period.¹

The magnificence displayed by the first civic magistrate was almost regal. The gilded coach, indeed, which is now annually admired by the crowd, was not yet a part of his state. On great occasions he appeared on horseback, attended by a long cavalcade inferior in magnificence only to that which, before a coronation, escorted the sovereign from the Tower to Westminster. The Lord Mayor was never seen in public without his rich robe, his hood of black velvet, his gold chain, his jewel,

¹ North's *Examen*. This amusing writer has preserved a specimen of the sublime raptures in which the Pindar of the City indulged:—

"The worshipful Sir John Moor!
After age that name adore!"

and a great attendance of harbingers and guards.¹ Nor did the world find anything ludicrous in the pomp which constantly surrounded him. For it was not more than became the place which, as wielding the strength and representing the dignity of the City of London, he was⁵ entitled to occupy in the State. That City being then *not only without equal in the country, but without second*, had, during five and forty years, exercised almost as great an influence on the politics of England as Paris has, in our own time, exercised on the politics of France. In¹⁰ intelligence London was greatly in advance of every other part of the kingdom. A government supported and trusted by London could in a day obtain such pecuniary means as it would have taken months to collect from the rest of the island. Nor were the military resources of¹⁵ the capital to be despised. The power which the Lord Lieutenants exercised in other parts of the kingdom was in London entrusted to a Commission of eminent citizens. Under the orders of this Commission were twelve regiments of foot and two regiments of horse. An army of²⁰ drapers' apprentices and journeymen tailors, with common councilmen for captains and aldermen for colonels, might not indeed have been able to stand its ground against regular troops; but there were then very few regular troops in the kingdom. A town, therefore, which could²⁵ send forth, at an hour's notice, thousands of men, abounding in natural courage, provided with tolerable weapons, and not altogether untinctured with martial discipline, could not but be a valuable ally and a formidable enemy. It was not forgotten that Hampden and Pym had been³⁰ protected from lawless tyranny by the London trainbands; that, in the great crisis of the civil war, the London trainbands had marched to raise the siege of

¹ Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; *Angliæ Metropolis*, 1690; Seymour's *London*, 1734.

Gloucester; or that, in the movement against the military tyrants which followed the downfall of Richard Cromwell, the London trainbands had borne a signal part. In truth, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the hostility of the City, Charles the First would never have been vanquished, and that without the help of the City, Charles the Second could scarcely have been restored.

These considerations may serve to explain why, in spite of that attraction which had, during a long course of years, gradually drawn the aristocracy westward, a few men of high rank had continued, till a very recent period, to dwell in the vicinity of the Exchange and of the Guildhall. Shaftesbury and Buckingham, while engaged in bitter and unscrupulous opposition to the government, had thought that they could nowhere carry on their intrigues so conveniently or so securely as under the protection of the City magistrates and the City militia. Shaftesbury had therefore lived in Aldersgate Street, at a house which may still be easily known by pilasters and wreaths, the graceful work of Inigo. Buckingham had ordered his mansion near Charing Cross, once the abode of the Archbishops of York, to be pulled down; and, while streets and alleys which are still named after him were rising on that site, chose to reside in Dowgate.¹

These, however, were rare exceptions. Almost all the noble families of England had long migrated beyond the walls. The district where most of their

Fashionable part of the capital.

town houses stood lies between the City and the regions which are now considered as fashionable. A few great men still retained their hereditary hotels in the Strand. The stately dwellings on the south and west of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Piazza of Covent Garden, Southampton Square, which is now called Bloomsbury Square,

¹ North's *Examen*, 116; Wood, *Ath. Ox. Shaftesbury*; The Duke of B.'s *Litany*.

and King's Square in Soho Fields, which is now called Soho Square, were among the favourite spots. Foreign princes were carried to see Bloomsbury Square as one of the wonders of England.¹ Soho Square, which had just been built, was to our ancestors a subject of pride with which their posterity will hardly sympathize. Monmouth Square had been the name while the fortunes of the Duke of Monmouth flourished; and on the southern side towered his mansion. The front, though ungraceful, was lofty and richly adorned. The walls of the principal apartments were finely sculptured with fruit, foliage, and armorial bearings, and were hung with embroidered satin.² Every trace of this magnificence has long disappeared; and no aristocratical mansion is to be found in that once aristocratical quarter. A little way north from Holborn, and on the verge of the pastures and cornfields, rose two celebrated palaces, each with an ample garden. One of them, then called Southampton House, and subsequently Bedford House, was removed about fifty years ago to make room for a new city, which now covers, with its squares, streets, and churches, a vast area, renowned in the seventeenth century for peaches and snipes. The other, Montague House, celebrated for its frescoes and furniture, was, a few months after the death of Charles the Second, burned to the ground, and was speedily succeeded by a more magnificent Montague House, which, having been long the repository of such various and precious treasures of art, science, and learning as were scarcely ever before assembled under a single roof, has now given place to an edifice more magnificent still.³

Nearer to the Court, on a space called Saint James's

¹ *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo.*

² Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; Pennant's *London*; Smith's *Life of Nollekens*.

³ Evelyn's *Diary*, Oct. 10, 1683, Jan. 29, 1688.

Fields, had just been built Saint James's Square and Jermyn Street. Saint James's Church had recently been opened for the accommodation of the inhabitants of this new quarter.¹ Golden Square, which was in the next generation inhabited by lords and ministers of state, had not yet been begun. Indeed the only dwellings to be seen on the north of Piccadilly were three or four isolated and almost rural mansions, of which the most celebrated was the costly pile erected by Clarendon, and nicknamed Dunkirk House. It had been purchased after its founder's downfall by the Duke of Albemarle. The Clarendon Hotel and Albemarle Street still preserve the memory of the site.

He who then rambled to what is now the gayest and most crowded part of Regent Street found himself in a solitude, and was sometimes so fortunate as to have a shot at a woodcock.² On the north the Oxford road ran between hedges. Three or four hundred yards to the south were the garden walls of a few great houses, which were considered as quite out of town. On the west was a meadow renowned for a spring from which, long afterwards, Conduit Street was named. On the east was a field not to be passed without a shudder by any Londoner of that age. There, as in a place far from the haunts of men, had been dug, twenty years before, when the great plague was raging, a pit into which the dead carts had nightly shot corpses by scores. It was popularly believed that the earth was deeply tainted with infection, and could not be disturbed without imminent risk to human life. No foundations were laid there till two generations had passed without any return of the

¹ Stat. 1 Jac. II c. 22; Evelyn's *Diary*, Dec. 7, 1684.

² Old General Oglethorpe, who died in 1785, used to boast that he had shot birds here in Anne's reign. See Pennant's *London*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1785.

pestilence, and till the ghastly spot had long been surrounded by buildings.¹

We should greatly err if we were to suppose that any of the streets and squares then bore the same aspect as at present. The great majority of the houses, indeed, ⁵ have, since that time, been wholly, or in great part, rebuilt. If the most fashionable parts of the capital could be placed before us, such as they then were, we should be disgusted by their squalid appearance, and poisoned by their noisome atmosphere. 10

In Covent Garden a filthy and noisy market was held close to the dwellings of the great. Fruit women screamed, carters fought, cabbage stalks and rotten apples accumulated in heaps at the thresholds of the Countess of Berkshire and of the Bishop of Durham.² 15

The centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields was an open space where the rabble congregated every evening, within a few yards of Cardigan House and Winchester House, to hear mountebanks harangue, to see bears dance, and to set dogs at oxen. Rubbish was shot in every part of the ²⁰ area. Horses were exercised there. The beggars were as noisy and importunate as in the worst governed cities of the Continent. A Lincoln's Inn mumper was a proverb. The whole fraternity knew the arms and liveries of every charitably disposed grandee in the neighbour- ²⁵ hood, and, as soon as his lordship's coach and six appeared, came hopping and crawling in crowds to persecute him. These disorders lasted, in spite of many accidents, and of some legal proceedings, till, in the reign of George the Second, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the ³⁰ Rolls, was knocked down and nearly killed in the middle

¹ The pest field will be seen in maps of London as late as the end of George the First's reign

² See a very curious plan of Covent Garden made about 1690, and engraved for Smith's *History of Westminster*. See also Hogarth's *Morning*, painted while some of the houses in the Piazza were still occupied by people of fashion.

of the square. Then at length palisades were set up, and a pleasant garden laid out.¹

Saint James's Square was a receptacle for all the offal and cinders, for all the dead cats and dead dogs of Westminster. At one time a cudgel player kept the ring there. At another time an impudent squatter settled himself there, and built a shed for rubbish under the windows of the gilded saloons in which the first magnates of the realm, Norfolk, Ormond, Kent, and Pembroke, gave banquets and balls. It was not till these nuisances had lasted through a whole generation, and till much had been written about them, that the inhabitants applied to Parliament for permission to put up rails, and to plant trees.²

When such was the state of the region inhabited by the most luxurious portion of society, we may easily believe that the great body of the population suffered what would now be considered as insupportable grievances. The pavement was detestable; all foreigners cried shame upon it. The drainage was so bad that in rainy weather the gutters soon became torrents. Several facetious poets have commemorated the fury with which these black rivulets roared down Snow Hill³ and Ludgate Hill, bearing to Fleet Ditch a vast tribute of animal and vegetable filth from the stalls of butchers and greengrocers. This flood was profusely thrown to right and left by coaches

¹ *London Spy*; Tom Brown's *Comical View of London and Westminster*; Turner's *Propositions for the employing of the Poor*, 1678; *Daily Courant and Daily Journal* of June 7, 1733; Case of Michael v. Allestree, in 1676, 2 Levinz, p. 172. Michael had been run over by two horses which Allestree was breaking in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The declaration set forth that the defendant "porta deux chivals ungovernable en un coach, et improvide, incaute, et absque debita consideratione ineptitudinis loci la eux drive pur eux faire tractable et apt pur un coach, quels chivals, pur ceo que, per leur ferocite, ne poient estre rule, curreneur le plaintiff et le noie".

² Stat. 12, Geo. I. c. 25; Commons' Journals, Feb. 25, March 2, 1728; *London Gardener*, 1712, *Evening Post*, March 23, 1731. I have not been able to find this number of the *Evening Post*; I therefore quote it on the faith of Mr. Malcolm, who mentions it in his *History of London*.

and carts. To keep as far from the carriage road as possible was therefore the wish of every pedestrian. The mild and the timid gave the wall. The bold and athletic took it. If two roisterers met, they cocked their hats in each other's faces, and pushed each other about till the weaker was shoved towards the kennel. If he was a mere bully he sneaked off muttering that he should find a time. If he was pugnacious, the encounter probably ended in a duel behind Montague House.¹

The houses were not numbered. There would indeed have been little advantage in numbering them; for of the coachmen, chairmen, porters, and errand boys of London, a very small proportion could read. It was necessary to use marks which the most ignorant could understand. The shops were therefore distinguished by painted or sculptured signs, which gave a gay and grotesque aspect to the streets. The walk from Charing Cross to Whitechapel lay through an endless succession of Saracens' Heads, Royal Oaks, Blue Bears, and Golden Lambs, which disappeared when they were no longer required for the direction of the common people.

When the evening closed in, the difficulty and danger of walking about London became serious indeed. The garret windows were opened and pails were emptied, with little regard to those who were passing below. Falls, bruises, and broken bones were of constant occurrence. For, till the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, most of the streets were left in profound darkness. Thieves and robbers plied their trade with impunity: yet they were hardly so terrible to peaceable citizens as another class of ruffians. It was a favourite amusement of dissolute young gentlemen to swagger by night about the town, breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating

¹ *Lettres sur les Anglois*, written early in the reign of William the Third; Swift's *City Shower*; Gay's *Trivia*. Johnson used to relate a curious conversation which he had with his mother about giving and taking the wall.

quiet men, and offering rude 'caresses to pretty women. Several dynasties of these tyrants had, since the Restoration, domineered over the streets. The Muns and Tityre Tus had given place to the Hectors, and the Hectors had been recently succeeded by the Scourers. At a later period arose the Nicker, the Hawcubite, and the yet more dreaded name of Mohawk.¹ The machinery for keeping the peace was utterly contemptible. ^{Police of London.} There was an Act of Common Council which ¹⁰ provided that more than a thousand watchmen should be constantly on the alert in the city, from sunset to sunrise, and that every inhabitant should take his turn of duty. But this Act was negligently executed. Few of those who were summoned left their homes: and those ¹⁵ few generally found it more agreeable to tipple in ale-houses than to pace the streets.²

It ought to be noticed that, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, began a great change in the ^{Lighting of London.} police of London, a change which has perhaps ²⁰ added as much to the happiness of the body of the people as revolutions of much greater fame. An ingenious projector, named Edward Heming, obtained letters patent conveying to him, for a term of years, the ^{ing to} right of lighting up London. He undertook, ²⁵ to clear the streets from filth from due consideration, to place a light before door, on moonless nights, from Michaelmas

of the 3rd Satire on Juvenal, 1682; Shadwell's Scourers, authorities will readily occur to all who are acquainted with of that and the succeeding generation. It may be suspected that Tityre Tus, like good Cavaliers, broke Milton's windows. I am confident that he was thinking of those pests of the noble lines,—

luxurious cities, when the noise
ascends above their loftiest towers,
and outrage, and when night
streets, then wander forth the sons
on with insolence and wine".

to Lady Day, and from six to twelve of the clock. Those who now see the capital all the year round, from dusk to dawn, blazing with a splendour beside which the illuminations for La Hogue and Blenheim would have looked pale, may perhaps smile to think of Heming's lanterns, which glimmered feebly before one house in ten during a small part of one night in three. But such was not the feeling of his contemporaries. His scheme was enthusiastically applauded, and furiously attacked. The friends of improvement extolled him as the greatest of all the benefactors of his city. What, they asked, were the boasted inventions of Archimedes, when compared with the achievement of the man who had turned the nocturnal shades into noon day? In spite of these eloquent eulogies the cause of darkness was not left undefended. There were fools in that age who opposed the introduction of what was called the new light as strenuously as fools in our age have opposed the introduction of vaccination and railroads, as strenuously as the fools of an age anterior to the dawn of history doubtless opposed the introduction of the plough and of alphabetical writing. Many years after the date of Heming's patent there were extensive districts in which no lamp was seen.¹

We may easily imagine what, in such times, must have been the state of the quarters of London which were peopled by the outcasts of society. Among those quarters one had attained a scandalous pre-eminence. On the confines of the City and the Temple had been founded, in the thirteenth century, a House of Carmelite Friars, distinguished by their white hoods. The precinct of this house had, before the Reformation, been a sanctuary for criminals, and still retained the privilege of protecting debtors from

¹ *Anglicæ Metropolis*, 1690, Sect. 17, entitled, "Of the new lights"; Seymour's *London*.

arrest. Insolvents consequently were to be found in every dwelling, from cellar to garret. Of these a large proportion were knaves and libertines, and were followed to their asylum by women more abandoned than themselves. The civil power was unable to keep order in a district swarming with such inhabitants; and thus Whitefriars became the favourite resort of all who wished to be emancipated from the restraints of the law. Though the immunities legally belonging to the place extended only to cases of debt, cheats, false witnesses, forgers, and highwaymen found refuge there. For amidst a rabble so desperate no peace-officer's life was in safety. At the cry of "Rescue", bullies with swords and cudgels, and ter-magant hags with spits and broomsticks, poured forth by hundreds; and the intruder was fortunate if he escaped back into Fleet Street, hustled, stripped, and pumped upon. Even the warrant of the Chief Justice of England could not be executed without the help of a company of musketeers. Such relics of the barbarism of the darkest ages were to be found within a short walk of the chambers where Somers was studying history and law, of the chapel where Tillotson was preaching, of the coffee house where Dryden was passing judgment on poems and plays, and of the hall where the Royal Society was examining the astronomical system of Isaac Newton.¹

Each of the two cities which made up the capital of England had its own centre of attraction. In the metropolis of commerce the point of convergence was the Exchange; in the metropolis of fashion the Palace. But the Palace did not retain its influence so long as the Exchange. The Revolution completely altered the relations between the Court and the higher classes of society. It was by degrees dis-

¹ Stowe's *Survey of London*, Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia*; Ward's *London Spy*; Stat. 8 & 9 Gul. III. cap. 27.

covered that the King, in his individual capacity, had very little to give; that coronets and garters, bishoprics and embassies, lordships of the Treasury and tellerships of the Exchequer, nay, even charges in the royal stud and bedchamber, were really bestowed, not by him, but by his advisers. Every ambitious and covetous man perceived that he would consult his own interest far better by acquiring the dominion of a Cornish borough, and by rendering good service to the ministry during a critical session, than by becoming the companion, or even the minion, of his prince. It was therefore in the antechambers, not of George the First and of George the Second, but of Walpole and Pelham, that the daily crowd of courtiers was to be found. It is also to be remarked that the same Revolution, which made it impossible that our Kings should use the patronage of the state merely for the purpose of gratifying their personal predilections, gave us several Kings unfitted by their education and habits to be gracious and affable hosts. They had been born and bred on the Continent. They never felt themselves at home in our island. If they spoke our language, they spoke it inelegantly and with effort. Our national character they never fully understood. Our national manners they hardly attempted to acquire. The most important part of their duty they performed better than any ruler who had preceded them, for they governed strictly according to law; but they could not be the first gentlemen of the realm, the heads of polite society. If ever they unbent, it was in a very small circle where hardly an English face was to be seen; and they were never so happy as when they could escape for a summer to their native land. They had indeed their days of reception for our nobility and gentry: but the reception was mere matter of form, and became at last as solemn a ceremony as a funeral.

Not such was the court of Charles the Second. White-hall, when he dwelt there, was the focus of political intrigue and of fashionable gaiety. Half the jobbing and half the flirting of the metropolis went on under his roof. 5 Whoever could make himself agreeable to the prince, or could secure the good offices of the mistress, might hope to rise in the world without rendering any service to the government, without being even known by sight to any minister of state. This courtier got a frigate, and that 10 a company; a third, the pardon of a rich offender; a fourth a lease of crown land on easy terms. If the King notified his pleasure that a briefless lawyer should be made a judge, or that a libertine baronet should be made a peer, the gravest counsellors, after a little murmuring, 15 submitted.¹ Interest, therefore, drew a constant press of suitors to the gates of the palace; and those gates always stood wide. The King kept open house every day, and all day long, for the good society of London, the extreme Whigs only excepted. Hardly any gentleman had any 20 difficulty in making his way to the royal presence. The levee was exactly what the word imports. Some men of quality came every morning to stand round their master, to chat with him while his wig was combed, and his cravat tied, and to accompany him in his early walk 25 through the Park. All persons who had been properly introduced might, without any special invitation, go to see him, dine, sup, dance, and play at hazard, and might have the pleasure of hearing him tell stories, which indeed he told remarkably well, about his flight from Worcester, 30 and about the misery which he had endured when he was a state prisoner in the hands of the canting, meddling preachers of Scotland. Bystanders whom His Majesty recognized often came in for a courteous word. This

¹ See Sir Roger North's account of the way in which Wright was made a judge, and Clarendon's account of the way in which Sir George Savile was made a peer.

proved a far more successful kingcraft than any that his father or grandfather had practised. It was not easy for the most austere republican of the school of Marvel to resist the fascination of so much good humour and affability: and many a veteran Cavalier in whose heart the remembrance of unrequited sacrifices and services had been festering during twenty years, was compensated in one moment for wounds and sequestrations by his sovereign's kind nod, and "God bless you, my old friend."

10

Whitehall naturally became the chief staple of news. Whenever there was a rumour that anything important had happened or was about to happen, people hastened thither to obtain intelligence from the fountain head. The galleries presented the appearance of a modern club¹⁵ room at an anxious time. They were full of people enquiring whether the Dutch mail was in, what tidings the express from France had brought, whether John Sobiesky had beaten the Turks, whether the Doge of Genoa was really at Paris. These were matters about which it was²⁰ safe to talk aloud. But there were subjects concerning which information was asked and given in whispers. Had Halifax got the better of Rochester? Was there to be a Parliament? Was the Duke of York really going to Scotland? Had Monmouth really been summoned from²⁵ the Hague? Men tried to read the countenance of every minister as he went through the throng to and from the royal closet. All sorts of auguries were drawn from the tone in which His Majesty spoke to the Lord President, or from the laugh with which His Majesty honoured a³⁰ jest of the Lord Privy Seal; and in a few hours the hopes and fears inspired by such slight indications had spread to all the coffee houses from St. James's to the Tower.¹

¹ The sources from which I have drawn my information about the state of the court are too numerous to recapitulate. Among them are the Despatches of

The coffee house must not be dismissed with a cursory mention. It might indeed at that time have been not improperly called a most important political institution. No Parliament had sat for years.

The coffee
houses.

5 The municipal council of the City had ceased to speak the sense of the citizens. Public meetings, harangues, resolutions, and the rest of the modern machinery of agitation had not yet come into fashion. Nothing resembling the modern newspaper existed. In such circumstances the coffee houses were the chief organs through which the public opinion of the metropolis vented itself.

The first of these establishments had been set up, in the time of the Commonwealth, by a Turkey merchant, 15 who had acquired among the Mahometans a taste for their favourite beverage. The convenience of being able to make appointments in any part of the town, and of being able to pass evenings socially at a very small charge, was so great that the fashion spread fast. Every man 20 of the upper or middle class went daily to his coffee house to learn the news, and to discuss it. Every coffee house had one or more orators to whose eloquence the crowd listened with admiration, and who soon became, what the journalists of our time have been called, a 25 fourth Estate of the realm. The Court had long seen with uneasiness the growth of this new power in the state. An attempt had been made, during Danby's administration, to close the coffee houses. But men of all parties missed their usual places of resort so much that there 30 was an universal outcry. The government did not venture, in opposition to a feeling so strong and general, to enforce a regulation of which the legality might well be

Barillon, Van Citters, Ronquillo, and Adda, the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*, the Works of Roger North, the Diaries of Pepys, Evelyn, and Teonge, and the Memoirs of Grammont and Reresby.

questioned. Since that time ten years had elapsed, and during those years the number and influence of the coffee houses had been constantly increasing. Foreigners remarked that the coffee house was that which especially distinguished London from all other cities; that the coffee house was the Londoner's home, and that those who wished to find a gentleman commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow. Nobody was excluded from these places who laid down his penny 10 at the bar. Yet every rank and profession, and every shade of religious and political opinion, had its own head quarters. There were houses near St. James's Park where fops congregated, their heads and shoulders covered with black or flaxen wigs, not less ample than those 15 which are now worn by the Chancellor and by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The wig came from Paris, and so did the rest of the fine gentleman's ornaments, his embroidered coat, his fringed gloves, and the tassel which upheld his pantaloons. The conversation was in 20 that dialect which, long after it had ceased to be spoken in fashionable circles, continued, in the mouth of Lord Foppington, to excite the mirth of theatres.¹ The atmosphere was like that of a perfumer's shop. Tobacco in any other form than that of richly scented snuff was held 25 in abomination. If any clown, ignorant of the usages of the house, called for a pipe, the sneers of the whole assembly and the short answers of the waiters soon convinced him that he had better go somewhere else. Nor, indeed, would he have had far to go. For, in general, 30 the coffee-rooms reeked with tobacco like a guard-room;

¹ The chief peculiarity of this dialect was that, in a large class of words, the O was pronounced like A. Thus Lord was pronounced Lard. See Vanbrugh's *Relapse*. Lord Sunderland was a great master of this court tune, as Roger North calls it; and Titus Oates affected it in the hope of passing for a fine gentleman. *Examen*, 77, 254.

and strangers sometimes expressed their surprise that so many people should leave their own firesides to sit in the midst of eternal fog and stench. Nowhere was the smoking more constant than at Will's. That celebrated house, 5 situated between Covent Garden and Bow Street, was sacred to polite letters. There the talk was about poetical justice and the unities of place and time. There was a faction for Perrault and the moderns, a faction for Boileau and the ancients. One group debated whether 10 *Paradise Lost* ought not to have been in rhyme. To another an envious poetaster demonstrated that *Venice Preserved* ought to have been hooted from the stage. Under no roof was a greater variety of figures to be seen. There were Earls in stars and garters, clergymen in 15 cassocks and bands, pert Templars, sheepish lads from the Universities, translators and index-makers in ragged coats of frieze. The great press was to get near the chair where John Dryden sate. In winter that chair was always in the warmest nook by the fire; in summer it 20 stood in the balcony. To bow to the Laureate, and to hear his opinion of Racine's last tragedy or of Bossu's treatise on epic poetry, was thought a privilege. A pinch from his snuff-box was an honour sufficient to turn the head of a young enthusiast. There were coffee houses 25 where the first medical men might be consulted. Doctor John Radcliffe, who, in the year 1685, rose to the largest practice in London, came daily, at the hour when the Exchange was full, from his house in Bow Street, then a fashionable part of the capital, to Garraway's, and was 30 to be found, surrounded by surgeons and apothecaries, at a particular table. There were Puritan coffee houses where no oath was heard, and where lank-haired men discussed election and reprobation through their noses; Jew coffee houses where dark-eyed money-changers from 35 Venice and from Amsterdam greeted each other; and

Popish coffee houses where, as good Protestants believed, Jesuits planned, over their cups, another great fire, and cast silver bullets to shoot the King.¹

These gregarious habits had no small share in forming the character of the Londoner of that age. He was, ⁵ indeed, a different being from the rustic Englishman. There was not then the intercourse which now exists between the two classes. Only very great men were in the habit of dividing the year between town and country. Few esquires came to the capital thrice in ¹⁰ their lives. Nor was it yet the practice of all citizens in easy circumstances to breathe the fresh air of the fields and woods during some weeks of every summer. A cockney, in a rural village, was stared at as much as if he had intruded into a Kraal of Hottentots. On the other ¹⁵ hand, when the lord of a Lincolnshire or Shropshire manor appeared in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he gazed at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ²⁰ ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge ²⁵ pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendour of the Lord Mayor's show. Money-droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen. Painted women, the ³⁰

¹ *Lettres sur les Anglois*; *Tom Brown's Tour*; *Ward's London Spy*; *The Character of a Coffee House*, 1673; *Rules and Orders of the Coffee House*, 1674; *Coffee Houses vindicated*, 1675; *A Satyr against Coffee*; *North's Examen*, 138; *Life of Guildford*, 152; *Life of Sir Dudley North*, 149; *Life of Dr. Radcliffe*, published by Curll in 1715. The liveliest description of Will's is in the *City and Country Mouse*. There is a remarkable passage about the influence of the coffee house orators in Halstead's *Succinct Genealogies*, printed in 1685.

refuse of Lewkner Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maids of honour. If he asked his way to St. James's, his informants sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was
 15 instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. If he rambled into any fashionable coffee house, he became a mark for the insolent derision of fops and the grave
 10 waggery of Templars. Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion, and there, in the homage of his tenants and the conversation of his boon companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations which he had undergone. There he was once more
 15 a great man, and saw nothing above himself except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the Judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the Lord Lieutenant.

The chief cause which made the fusion of the different
 20 elements of society so imperfect was the extreme difficulty which our ancestors found in passing from place
 Difficulty of travelling to place. Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of
 25 our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind morally and intellectually as well as materially, and not only facilitates the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to bind
 30 together all the branches of the great human family. In the seventeenth century the inhabitants of London were, for almost every practical purpose, farther from Reading than they now are from Edinburgh, and farther from Edinburgh than they now are from Vienna.
 35 The subjects of Charles the Second were not, it is

true, quite unacquainted with that principle which has, in our own time, produced an unprecedented revolution in human affairs, which has enabled navies to advance in face of wind and tide, and brigades of troops, attended by all their baggage and artillery, to traverse kingdoms at a pace equal to that of the fleetest race horse. The Marquess of Worcester had recently observed the expansive power of moisture rarified by heat. After many experiments he had succeeded in constructing a rude steam engine, which he called a fire water work, and which he pronounced to be an admirable and most forcible instrument of propulsion.¹ But the Marquess was suspected to be a madman, and known to be a Papist. His inventions, therefore, found no favourable reception. His fire water work might, perhaps, furnish matter for conversation at a meeting of the Royal Society, but was not applied to any practical purpose. There were no railways, except a few made of timber, on which coals were carried from the mouths of the Northumbrian pits to the banks of the Tyne.² There was very little internal communication by water. A few attempts had been made to deepen and embank the natural streams, but with slender success. Hardly a single navigable canal had been even projected. The English of that day were in the habit of talking with mingled admiration and despair of the immense trench by which Lewis the Fourteenth had made a junction between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. They little thought that their country would, in the course of a few generations, be intersected, at the cost of private adventurers, by artificial rivers making up more than four times the length of the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent together.

It was by the highways that both travellers and goods generally passed from place to place; and those highways

¹ *Century of Inventions*, 1663, No. 68.

² North's *Life of Guildford*, 136.

appear to have been far worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had even then attained. On the ^{Badness of the roads} best lines of communication the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way often such as it was hardly possible to distinguish, in the dusk, from the unenclosed heath and fen which lay on both sides. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, was in danger of losing his way on the great North Road, between Barnby Moor and Tuxford, and actually lost his way between Doncaster and York.¹ Pepys and his wife, travelling in their own coach, lost their way between Newbury and Reading. In the course of the same tour they lost their way near Salisbury, and were in danger of having to pass the night on the plain.² It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles. Often the mud lay deep on the right and the left; and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire.³ At such times obstructions and quarrels were frequent, and the path was sometimes blocked up during a long time by carriers, neither of whom would break the way. It happened, almost every day, that coaches stuck fast, until a team of cattle could be procured from some neighbouring farm, to tug them out of the slough. But in bad seasons the traveller had to encounter inconveniences still more serious. Thoresby, who was in the habit of travelling between Leeds and the capital, has recorded, in his *Diary*, such a series of perils and disasters as might suffice for a journey to the Frozen Ocean or to the Desert of Sahara. On one occasion he learned that the floods were out between Ware and London, that passengers had to swim for their lives, and that a higgler had perished in the attempt to cross. In consequence

¹ Thoresby's *Diary*, Oct. 21, 1680, Aug. 3, 1712.

² Pepys's *Diary*, June 12 and 16, 1668.

³ Pepys's *Diary*, Feb. 28, 1660.

of these tidings he turned out of the high road, and was conducted across some meadows, where it was necessary for him to ride to the saddle skirts in water.¹ In the course of another journey he narrowly escaped being swept away by an inundation of the Trent. He was afterwards detained at Stamford four days, on account of the state of the roads, and then ventured to proceed only because fourteen members of the House of Commons, who were going up in a body to Parliament with guides and numerous attendants, took him into their company.² 10 On the roads of Derbyshire, travellers were in constant fear for their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts.³ The great route through Wales to Holyhead was in such a state that, in 1685, a viceroy, going to Ireland, was five hours in travelling 15 fourteen miles, from Saint Asaph to Conway. Between Conway and Beaumaris he was forced to walk great part of the way; and his lady was carried in a litter. His coach was, with much difficulty, and by the help of many hands, brought after him entire. In general, carriages 20 were taken to pieces at Conway, and borne, on the shoulders of stout Welsh peasants, to the Menai Straits.⁴ In some parts of Kent and Sussex, none but the strongest horses could, in winter, get through the bog, in which, at every step, they sank deep. The markets were often in- 25 accessible during several months. It is said that the fruits of the earth were sometimes suffered to rot in one place, while in another place, distant only a few miles, the supply fell far short of the demand. The wheeled carriages were, in this district, generally pulled by oxen.⁵ 30

¹ Thoresby's *Diary*, May 17, 1695

² *Ibid.* Dec. 27, 1708.

³ *Tour in Derbyshire*, by J. Browne, son of Sir Thomas Browne, 1662. Cotton's *Angler*, 1676.

⁴ Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon, Dec. 30, 1685, Jan. 1, 1686.

⁵ Postlethwaite's *Dict.*, Roads; History of Hawkhurst, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*.

When Prince George of Denmark visited the stately mansion of Petworth in wet weather, he was six hours in going nine miles; and it was necessary that a body of sturdy hinds should be on each side of his coach in order
 5 to prop it. Of the carriages which conveyed his retinue several were upset and injured. A letter from one of the party has been preserved, in which the unfortunate courtier complains that, during fourteen hours, he never once alighted, except when his coach was overturned or
 10 stuck fast in the mud.¹

One chief cause of the badness of the roads seems to have been the defective state of the law. Every parish was bound to repair the highways which passed through it. The peasantry were forced to give their gratuitous
 15 labour six days in the year. If this was not sufficient, hired labour was employed, and the expense was met by a parochial rate. That a route connecting two great towns which have a large and thriving trade with each other, should be maintained at the cost of the rural popu-
 20 lation scattered between them is obviously unjust; and this injustice was peculiarly glaring in the case of the great North Road, which traversed very poor and thinly-inhabited districts, and joined very rich and populous districts. Indeed it was not in the power of the parishes
 25 of Huntingdonshire to mend a highway worn by the constant traffic between the West Riding of Yorkshire and London. Soon after the Restoration this grievance attracted the notice of Parliament; and an act, the first of our many turnpike acts, was passed, imposing a small toll
 30 on travellers and goods, for the purpose of keeping some parts of this important line of communication in good repair.² This innovation, however, excited many murmurs; and the other great avenues to the capital were long left under the old system. A change was at length

¹ *Annals of Queen Anne*, 1703, Appendix, No. 3.

² 15 Car. II. c. 1.

effected, but not without much difficulty. For unjust and absurd taxation to which men are accustomed is often borne far more willingly than the most reasonable impost which is new. It was not till many toll bars had been violently pulled down, till the troops had in many districts been forced to act against the people, and till much blood had been shed, that a good system was introduced.¹ By slow degrees reason triumphed over prejudice; and our island is now crossed in every direction by near thirty thousand miles of turnpike road. 10

On the best highways heavy articles were, in the time of Charles the Second, generally conveyed from place to place by stage wagons. In the straw of these vehicles nestled a crowd of passengers, who could not afford to travel by coach or on horseback, and who were prevented by infirmity, or by the weight of their luggage, from going on foot. The expense of transmitting heavy goods in this way was enormous. From London to Birmingham the charge was seven pounds a ton. From London to Exeter twelve pounds a ton.² This was about fifteen pence a ton for every mile, more by a third than was afterwards charged on turnpike roads, and fifteen times what is now demanded by railway companies. The cost of conveyance amounted to a prohibitory tax on many useful articles. Coal in particular was never seen except in the districts where it was produced, or in the districts to which it could be carried by sea, and was indeed always known in the south of England by the name of sea coal. 20

On byroads, and generally throughout the country north of York, and west of Exeter, goods were carried by long trains of packhorses. These strong and patient 30

¹ The evils of the old system are strikingly set forth in many petitions which appear in the Commons' Journal of 1728. How fierce an opposition was offered to the new system may be learned from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1749.

² Postlethwaite's *Dict.*, Roads.

beasts, the breed of which is now extinct, were attended by a class of men who seemed to have borne much resemblance to the Spanish muleteers. A traveller of humble condition often found it convenient to perform
 5 a journey mounted on a packsaddle between two baskets, under the care of these hardy guides. The expense of this mode of conveyance was small. But the caravan moved at a foot's pace; and in winter the cold was often
 10 unsupportable.¹

The rich commonly travelled in their own carriages, with at least four horses. Cotton, the facetious poet, attempted to go from London to the Peak with a single pair, but found at Saint Alban's that the journey would be insupportably tedious, and altered his plan.² A coach
 15 and six is in our time never seen, except as part of some pageant. The frequent mention therefore of such equipages in old books is likely to mislead us. We attribute to magnificence what was really the effect of a very disagreeably necessity. People, in the time of Charles the
 20 Second, travelled with six horses, because with a smaller number there was great danger of sticking fast in the mire. Nor were even six horses always sufficient. Vanbrugh, in the succeeding generation, described with great humour the way in which a country gentleman, newly
 25 chosen a member of Parliament, went up to London.

On that occasion all the exertions of six beasts, two of which had been taken from the plough, could not save the family coach from being imbedded in a quagmire.

Public carriages had recently been much improved.
 30 During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, a diligence ran between London and
 Stage coaches. Oxford in two days. The passengers slept at Beaconsfield. At length, in the spring of 1669, a great

¹ *Loidis and Elmete*; Marshall's *Rural Economy of England*. In 1739 Roderick Random came from Scotland to Newcastle on a packhorse.

² Cotton's *Epistle to J. Bradshaw*.

and daring innovation was attempted. It was announced that a vehicle, described as the Flying Coach, would perform the whole journey between sunrise and sunset. This spirited undertaking was solemnly considered and sanctioned by the Heads of the University, and appears 5 to have excited the same sort of interest which is excited in our own time by the opening of a new railway. The Vice-chancellor, by a notice affixed in all public places, prescribed the hour and place of departure. The success of the experiment was complete. At six in the morning 10 the carriage began to move from before the ancient front of All Souls College; and at seven in the evening the adventurous gentlemen who had run the first risk were safely deposited at their inn in London.¹ The emulation of the sister University was moved; and soon a 15 diligence was set up which in one day carried passengers from Cambridge to the capital. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, flying carriages ran thrice a week from London to the chief towns. But no stage coach, indeed no stage wagon, appears to have proceeded 20 further north than York, or further west than Exeter. The ordinary day's journey of a flying coach was about fifty miles in the summer; but in winter, when the ways were bad and the nights long, little more than thirty. The Chester coach, the York coach, and the Exeter 25 coach generally reached London in four days during the fine season, but at Christmas not till the sixth day. The passengers, six in number, were all seated in the carriage. For accidents were so frequent that it would have been most perilous to mount the roof. The ordinary fare was 30 about twopence halfpenny a mile in summer, and somewhat more in winter.²

¹ Anthony à Wood's *Life of Himself*.

² Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684. See also the list of stage-coaches and wagons at the end of the book entitled *Angliæ Metropolis*, 1690.

This mode of travelling, which by Englishmen of the present day would be regarded as insufferably slow, seemed to our ancestors wonderfully and indeed alarmingly rapid. In a work published a few months before the death of Charles the Second, the flying coaches are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known in the world. Their velocity is the subject of special commendation, and is triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the Continental posts. But with boasts like these was mingled the sound of complaint and invective. The interests of large classes had been unfavourably affected by the establishment of the new diligences; and, as usual, many persons were, from mere stupidity and obstinacy, disposed to clamour against the innovation, simply because it was an innovation. It was vehemently argued that this mode of conveyance would be fatal to the breed of horses, and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames, which had long been an important nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from London up to Windsor and down to Gravesend; that saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns, at which mounted travellers had been in the habit of stopping, would be deserted, and would no longer pay any rent; that the new carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and sometimes started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds it was gravely recommended that no public coach should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that, if this regulation were adopted, all except the sick and the lame would return to the old

mode of travelling. Petitions embodying such opinions as these were presented to the King in council from several companies of the City of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties. We smile at these things. It is not impossible that our descendants, when they read the history of the opposition offered by cupidity and prejudice to the improvements of the nineteenth century, may smile in their turn.¹

In spite of the attractions of the flying coaches, it was still usual for men who enjoyed health and vigour, and who were not encumbered by much baggage, to perform long journeys on horseback. If the traveller wished to move expeditiously he rode post. Fresh saddle horses and guides were to be procured at convenient distances along all the great lines of road. The charge was three-pence a mile for each horse, and fourpence a stage for the guide. In this manner, when the ways were good, it was possible to travel, for a considerable time, as rapidly as by any conveyance known in England, till vehicles were propelled by steam. There were as yet no post chaises; nor could those who rode in their own coaches ordinarily procure a change of horses. The King, however, and the great officers of state, were able to command relays. Thus Charles commonly went in one day from Whitehall to Newmarket, a distance of about fifty-five miles through a level country; and this was thought by his subjects a proof of great activity. Evelyn performed the same journey in company with the Lord Treasurer Clifford. The coach was drawn by six horses, which were changed at Bishop Stortford, and again at Chesterford. The travellers reached Newmarket

¹ John Cresset's *Reasons for Suppressing Stage Coaches*, 1672. These reasons were afterwards inserted in a tract, entitled "The Grand Concern of England explained, 1673". Cresset's attack on stage coaches called forth some answers which I have consulted.

at night. Such a mode of conveyance seems to have been considered as a rare luxury confined to princes and ministers.¹

Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, the travellers, unless they were numerous and well-armed, ran considerable risk of being stopped and plundered. The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road. The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. Hounslow Heath, on the Great Western Road, and Finchley Common, on the Great Northern Road, were perhaps the most celebrated of these spots. The Cambridge scholars trembled when they approached Epping Forest, even in broad daylight. Seamen who had just been paid off at Chatham were often compelled to deliver their purses on Gadshill, celebrated near a hundred years earlier by the greatest of poets as the scene of the depredations of Falstaff. The public authorities seem to have been often at a loss how to deal with the plunderers. At one time it was announced in the *Gazette* that several persons, who were strongly suspected of being highwaymen, but against whom there was not sufficient evidence, would be paraded at Newgate in riding dresses: their horses would also be shown; and all gentlemen who had been robbed were invited to inspect this singular exhibition. On another occasion a pardon was publicly offered to a robber if he would give up some rough diamonds, of immense value, which he had taken when he stopped the Harwich mail. A short time after appeared another proclamation, warning the innkeepers that the eye of the government was upon them. Their criminal con-

¹ Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684 North's *Examen*, 105; Evelyn's *Diary*, Oct. 9, 10, 1671.

nivance, it was affirmed, enabled banditti to infest the roads with impunity. That these suspicions were not without foundation, is proved by the dying speeches of some penitent robbers of that age, who appear to have received from the innkeepers services much resembling those which Farquhar's Boniface rendered to Gibbet.¹

It was necessary to the success and even to the safety of the highwayman that he should be a bold and skilful rider, and that his manners and appearance should be such as suited the master of a fine horse. He therefore held an aristocratical position in the community of thieves, appeared at fashionable coffee houses and gaming houses, and betted with men of quality on the race ground.² Sometimes, indeed, he was a man of good family and education. A romantic interest therefore attached, and perhaps still attaches, to the names of freebooters of this class. The vulgar eagerly drank in tales of their ferocity and audacity, of their occasional acts of generosity and good nature, of their amours, of their miraculous escapes, of their desperate struggles, and of their manly bearing at the bar and in the cart. Thus it was related of William Nevison, the great robber of Yorkshire, that he levied a quarterly tribute on all the northern drovers, and, in return, not only spared them himself, but protected them against all other thieves; that he demanded purses in the most courteous manner; that he gave largely to the poor what he had taken from the rich; that his life was once spared by the royal clemency, but that he again tempted his fate, and at length died, in 1685, on the gallows of York.³ It was related how Claude Duval, 30

¹ See the *London Gazette*, May 14, 1677, August 4, 1687, Dec. 5, 1687. The last confession of Augustin King, who was the son of an eminent divine, and had been educated at Cambridge, but was hanged at Colchester in March, 1688, is highly curious.

² *Aimwell* Pray, sir, han't I seen your face at Will's coffee house?

Gibbet. Yes, sir, and at White's too.—*Beaux' Stratagem*

³ *Gent's History of York*. Another marauder of the same description, named

the French page of the Duke of Richmond, took to the road, became captain of a formidable gang, and had the honour to be named first in a royal proclamation against notorious offenders; how at the head of his troop he stopped a lady's coach, in which there was a booty of four hundred pounds; how he took only one hundred, and suffered the fair owner to ransom the rest by dancing a coranto with him on the heath; how his vivacious gallantry stole away the hearts of all women; how his dexterity at sword and pistol made him a terror to all men; how, at length, in the year 1670, he was seized when overcome by wine; how dames of high rank visited him in prison, and with tears interceded for his life; how the King would have granted a pardon, but for the interference of Judge Morton, the terror of highwaymen, who threatened to resign his office unless the law were carried into full effect; and how, after the execution, the corpse lay in state with all the pomp of scutcheons, wax lights, black hangings, and mutes, till the same cruel Judge, who had intercepted the mercy of the crown, sent officers to disturb the obsequies.¹ In these anecdotes there is doubtless a large mixture of fable; but they are not on that account unworthy of being recorded; for it is both an authentic and an important fact that such tales, whether false or true, were heard by our ancestors with eagerness and faith.

All the various dangers by which the traveller was beset were greatly increased by darkness. He was therefore commonly desirous of having the shelter of a roof

Biss, was hanged at Salisbury in 1695. In a ballad which is in the Pepysian Library, he is represented as defending himself thus before the Judge:

"What say you now, my honoured Lord,

What harm was there in this?

Rich, wealthy misers were abhorred

By brave, freehearted Biss."

¹ Pope's *Memoirs of Duval*, published immediately after the execution. Oates's *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. Part I.

during the night; and such shelter it was not difficult to obtain. From a very early period the inns of England had been renowned. Our first great poet had described the excellent accommodation which they ^{Inns.} afforded to the pilgrims of the fourteenth century. Nine ⁵ and twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a ¹⁰ lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hostelries. The Continent of Europe, he said, could show nothing like them. There were some in which two or three hundred people, with their horses, could without difficulty be lodged and fed. The bedding, the tapestry, ¹⁵ above all, the abundance of clean and fine linen, was matter of wonder. Valuable plate was often set on the tables. Nay, there were signs which had cost thirty or forty pounds. In the seventeenth century England abounded with excellent inns of every rank. The traveller ²⁰ sometimes, in a small village, lighted on a public house such as Walton has described, where the brick floor was swept clean, where the walls were stuck round with ballads, where the sheets smelt of lavender, and where a blazing fire, a cup of good ale, and a dish of trouts fresh from ²⁵ the neighbouring brook, were to be procured at small charge. At the larger houses of entertainment were to be found beds hung with silk, choice cookery, and claret equal to the best which was drunk in London.¹ The innkeepers too, it was said, were not like other innkeepers. ³⁰ On the Continent the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold. In England he was a servant.

¹ See the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Harrison's *Historical Description of the Island of Great Britain*, and Pepys's account of his tour in the summer of 1668. The excellence of the English inns is noticed in the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*.

Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were often in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlour of some neighbouring house of public entertainment. They seem to have thought that comfort and freedom could in no other place be enjoyed in equal perfection. This feeling continued during many generations to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to our novelists and dramatists. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity: and Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, gave the wanderer so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn.

Many conveniences, which were unknown at Hampton Court and Whitehall in the seventeenth century, are in all modern hotels. Yet on the whole it is certain that the improvement of our houses of public entertainment has by no means kept pace with the improvement of our roads and of our conveyances. Nor is this strange; for it is evident that, all other circumstances being supposed equal, the inns will be best where the means of locomotion are worst. The quicker the rate of travelling, the less important is it that there should be numerous agreeable resting places for the traveller. A hundred and sixty years ago a person who came up to the capital from a remote county generally required, by the way, twelve or fifteen meals, and lodging for five or six nights. If he were a great man, he expected the meals and lodging to be comfortable, and even luxurious. At present we fly from York or Exeter to London by the light of a single winter's day. At present, therefore, a traveller seldom interrupts his journey merely for the sake of rest and refreshment. The consequence is that hundreds of

excellent inns have fallen into utter decay. In a short time no good houses of that description will be found, except at places where strangers are likely to be detained by business or pleasure.

The mode in which correspondence was carried on between distant places may excite the scorn of the present generation: yet it was such as might have moved the admiration and envy of the polished nations of antiquity, or of the contemporaries of Raleigh and Cecil. A rude and imperfect establishment of posts for the conveyance of letters had been set up by Charles the First, and had been swept away by the civil war. Under the Commonwealth the design was resumed. At the Restoration the proceeds of the Post Office, after all expenses had been paid, were settled on the Duke of York. On most lines of road the mails went out and came in only on the alternate days. In Cornwall, in the fens of Lincolnshire, and among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, letters were received only once a week. During a royal progress a daily post was despatched from the capital to the place where the court sojourned. There was also daily communication between London and the Downs; and the same privilege was sometimes extended to Tunbridge Wells and Bath at the seasons when those places were crowded by the great. The bags were carried on horseback day and night at the rate of about five miles an hour.¹

The revenue of this establishment was not derived solely from the charge for the transmission of letters. The Post Office alone was entitled to furnish post horses; and, from the care with which this monopoly was guarded, we may infer that it was found profitable.² If, indeed,

¹ Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 35; Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; *Anglia Metropolis*, 1690; *London Gazette*, June 22, 1685, August, 15, 1687.

² *London Gazette*, Sept. 14, 1685.

a traveller had waited half an hour without, being supplied, he might hire a horse wherever he could.

To facilitate correspondence between one part of London and another was not originally one of the objects of the Post Office. But, in the reign of Charles the Second, an enterprising citizen of London, William Dockwray, set up, at great expense, a penny post, which delivered letters and parcels six or eight times a day in the busy and crowded streets near the Exchange, and four times a day in the outskirts of the capital. This improvement was, as usual, strenuously resisted. The porters complained that their interests were attacked, and tore down the placards in which the scheme was announced to the public. The excitement caused by Godfrey's death, and by the discovery of Coleman's papers, was then at the height. A cry was therefore raised that the penny post was a Popish contrivance. The great Doctor Oates, it was affirmed, had hinted a suspicion that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the scheme, and that the bags, if examined, would be found full of treason.¹ The utility of the enterprise was, however, so great and obvious that all opposition proved fruitless. As soon as it became clear that the speculation would be lucrative, the Duke of York complained of it as an infraction of his monopoly; and the courts of law decided in his favour.²

The revenue of the Post Office was from the first constantly increasing. In the year of the Restoration a committee of the House of Commons, after strict enquiry, had estimated the net receipt at about twenty thousand pounds. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, the net receipt was little short of fifty thousand pounds; and this was then thought a stupendous sum. The gross

¹ Smith's *Current Intelligence*, March 30, and April 3, 1680.

² *Anglicæ Metropolis*, 1690.

receipt was about seventy thousand pounds. The charge for conveying a single letter was twopence for eighty miles, and threepence for a longer distance. The postage increased in proportion to the weight of the packet.¹ At present a single letter is carried to the extremity of Scotland or of Ireland for a penny; and the monopoly of post horses has long ceased to exist. Yet the gross annual receipts of the department amount to more than eighteen hundred thousand pounds, and the net receipts to more than seven hundred thousand pounds. It is, therefore, scarcely possible to doubt that the number of letters now conveyed by mail is seventy times the number which was so conveyed at the time of the accession of James the Second.²

No part of the load which the old mails carried out was more important than the newsletters. In 1685 nothing like the London daily paper of our time existed, or could exist. Neither the necessary capital nor the necessary skill was to be found. Freedom too was wanting, a want as fatal as that of either capital or skill. The press was not indeed at that moment under a general censorship. The licensing act, which had been passed soon after the Restoration, had expired in 1679. Any person might therefore print, at his own risk, a history, a sermon, or a poem, without the previous approbation of any officer; but the Judges were unanimously of opinion that this liberty did not extend to Gazettes, and that, by the common law of England, no man, not authorized by the crown, had a right to publish political news.³ While the Whig party

¹ Commons' Journals, Sept. 4, 1660, March 1, 1683; Chamberlayne, 1684; Davenant on the Public Revenue, Discourse IV.

² I have left the text as it stood in 1848. In the year 1856, the gross receipt of the Post Office was more than £2,800,000; and the net receipt was about £1,200,000. The number of letters conveyed by post was 478,000,000. (1857.)

³ *London Gazette*, May 5 and 17, 1680.

was still formidable, the government thought it expedient occasionally to connive at the violation of this rule. During the great battle of the Exclusion Bill, many newspapers were suffered to appear, the *Protestant Intelligence*, the *Current Intelligence*, the *Domestic Intelligence*, the *True News*, the *London Mercury*.¹ None of these was published oftener than twice a week. None exceeded in size a single small leaf. The quantity of matter which one of them contained in a year was not
10 more than is often found in two numbers of the *Times*. After the defeat of the Whigs it was no longer necessary for the King to be sparing in the use of that which all his Judges had pronounced to be his undoubted prerogative. At the close of his reign no newspaper was
15 suffered to appear without his allowance: and his allowance was given exclusively to the *London Gazette*. The *London Gazette* came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a royal proclamation, two or three Tory addresses, notices of two or three
20 promotions, an account of a skirmish between the imperial troops and the Janissaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cockfight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog.
25 The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. Sometimes, indeed, when the government was disposed to gratify the public curiosity respecting
30 an important transaction, a broadside was put forth giving fuller details than could be found in the *Gazette*; but neither the *Gazette* nor any supplementary broadside printed by authority ever contained any intelligence which

¹ There is a very curious, and, I should think, unique collection of these papers in the British Museum.

it did not suit the purposes of the Court to publish. The most important parliamentary debates, the most important state trials, recorded in our history, were passed over in profound silence.¹ In the capital the coffee houses supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked, as the Athenians of old flocked to the market place, to hear whether there was any news. There men might learn how brutally a Whig had been treated the day before in Westminster Hall, what horrible accounts the letters from Edinburgh gave of the torturing of Covenanters, how grossly the Navy Board had cheated the crown in the victualling of the fleet, and what grave charges the Lord Privy Seal had brought against the Treasury in the matter of the hearth money. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of newsletters. To prepare such letters became a calling in London, as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee-room to coffee-room, collecting reports, squeezed himself into the Sessions House at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial, nay, perhaps obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall, and noticed how the King and Duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten some county town or some bench of rustic magistrates. Such were the sources from which the inhabitants of the largest provincial cities, and the great body of the gentry and clergy, learned almost all that they knew of the history of their own time. We must suppose that at Cambridge there were as many persons curious to know what was passing in the world as at

¹ For example, there is not a word in the *Gazette* about the important parliamentary proceedings of November, 1685, or about the trial and acquittal of the seven Bishops

almost any place in the kingdom, out of London. Yet at Cambridge, during a great part of the reign of Charles the Second, the Doctors of Laws and the Masters of Arts had no regular supply of news except through the *London Gazette*. At length the services of one of the collectors of intelligence in the capital were employed. That was a memorable day on which the first newsletter from London was laid on the table of the only coffee-room in Cambridge.¹ At the seat of a man of fortune in the country the newsletter was impatiently expected. Within a week after it had arrived it had been thumbed by twenty families. It furnished the neighbouring squires with matter for talk over their October, and the neighbouring rectors with topics for sharp sermons against Whiggery or Popery. Many of these curious journals might doubtless still be detected by a diligent search in the archives of old families. Some are to be found in our public libraries; and one series, which is not the least valuable part of the literary treasures collected by Sir James Mackintosh, will be occasionally quoted in the course of this work.²

It is scarcely necessary to say that there were then no provincial newspapers. Indeed, except in the capital and at the two Universities, there was scarcely a printer in the kingdom. The only press in England north of Trent appears to have been at York.³

¹ Roger North's *Life of Dr. John North*. On the subject of newsletters, see the *Examen*, 133.

² I take this opportunity of expressing my warm gratitude to the family of my dear and honoured friend Sir James Mackintosh, for confiding to me the materials collected by him at a time when he meditated a work similar to that which I have undertaken. I have never seen, and I do not believe that there anywhere exists, within the same compass, so noble a collection of extracts from public and private archives. The judgment with which Sir James, in great masses of the rudest ore of history, selected what was valuable, and rejected what was worthless, can be fully appreciated only by one who has toiled after him in the same mine.

³ *Life of Thomas Gent*. A complete list of all printing houses in 1724 will be found in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* of the eighteenth century. There had

It was not only by means of the *London Gazette* that the government undertook to furnish political instruction to the people. That journal contained a scanty supply of news without comment. *The* *Observer*. Another journal, published under the patronage of the court, consisted of comment without news. This paper, called the *Observer*, was edited by an old Tory pamphleteer named Roger Lestrangle. Lestrangle was by no means deficient in readiness and shrewdness; and his diction, though coarse, and disfigured by a mean and flippant jargon which then passed for wit in the green room and the tavern, was not without keenness and vigour. But his nature, at once ferocious and ignoble, showed itself in every line that he penned. When the first *Observers* appeared, there was some excuse for his acrimony. For the Whigs were then powerful; and he had to contend against numerous adversaries, whose unscrupulous violence might seem to justify unsparing retaliation. But in 1685, all opposition had been crushed. A generous spirit would have disdained to insult a party which could not reply, and to aggravate the misery of prisoners, of exiles, of bereaved families: but from the malice of Lestrangle the grave was no hiding place, and the house of mourning no sanctuary. In the last month of the reign of Charles the Second, William Jenkyn, an aged dissenting pastor of great note, who had been cruelly persecuted for no crime but that of worshipping God according to the fashion generally followed throughout Protestant Europe, died of hardships and privations in Newgate. The outbreak of popular sympathy could not be repressed. The corpse was followed to the grave by a train of a hundred and

then been a great increase within a few years in the number of presses; and yet there were thirty-four counties in which there was no printer, one of those counties being Lancashire.

fifty coaches. Even courtiers looked sad. Even the unthinking King showed some signs of concern. Le-strange alone set up a howl of savage exultation, laughed at the weak compassion of the Trimmers, proclaimed
 5 that the blasphemous old impostor had met with a most righteous punishment, and vowed to wage war, not only to the death, but after death, with all the mock saints and martyrs.¹ Such was the spirit of the paper which was at this time the oracle of the Tory Party, and
 10 especially of the parochial clergy.

Literature which could be carried by the post bag then formed the greater part of the intellectual nutriment
 ruminated by the country divines and
 15 Scarcity of books in country places. country justices. The difficulty and expense of conveying large packets from place to place was so great, that an extensive work was longer in making its way from Paternoster Row to Devonshire or Lancashire than it now is in reaching Kentucky. How scantily a rural parsonage was then furnished, even
 20 with books the most necessary to a theologian, has already been remarked. The houses of the gentry were not more plentifully supplied. Few knights of the shire had libraries so good as may now perpetually be found in a servant's hall, or in the back parlour of a small shop-
 25 keeper. An esquire passed among his neighbours for a great scholar, if *Hudibras* and *Baker's Chronicle*, *Tarleton's Jest*s and the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, lay in his hall window among the fishing rods and fowling pieces. No circulating library, no book society, then
 30 existed even in the capital: but in the capital those students who could not afford to purchase largely had a resource. The shops of the great booksellers, near Saint Paul's Churchyard, were crowded every day and all day long

¹ *Observer*, Jan 29 and 31, 1685; *Calamy's Life of Baxter*; *Nonconformist Memorial*.

with readers; and a known customer was often permitted to carry a volume home. In the country there was no such accommodation; and every man was under the necessity of buying whatever he wished to read.¹

As to the lady of the manor and her daughters, their literary stores generally consisted of a prayer book and a receipt book. But in truth they lost little by living in rural seclusion. For, even in the highest ranks, and in those situations which afforded the greatest facilities for mental improvement, the English women of that generation were decidedly worse educated than they have been at any other time since the revival of learning. At an earlier period they had studied the masterpieces of ancient genius. In the present day they seldom bestow much attention on the dead languages; but they are familiar with the tongue of Pascal and Molière, with the tongue of Dante and Tasso, with the tongue of Goethe and Schiller; nor is there any purer or more graceful English than that which accomplished women now speak and write. But, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, the culture of the female mind seems to have been almost entirely neglected. If a damsel had the least smattering of literature she was regarded as a prodigy. Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit.²

Female
education.

¹ Cotton seems, from his *Angler*, to have found room for his whole library in his hall window; and Cotton was a man of letters. Even when Franklin first visited London in 1724, circulating libraries were unknown there. The crowd at the booksellers' shops in Little Britain is mentioned by Roger North in his *Life of his brother John*.

² One instance will suffice. Queen Mary, the daughter of James, had excellent natural abilities, had been educated by a Bishop, was fond of history and poetry, and was regarded by very eminent men as a superior woman. There is, in the library at the Hague, a superb English Bible which was delivered to her

The explanation may easily be found. Extravagant licentiousness, the natural effect of extravagant austerity, was now the mode: and licentiousness had produced its ordinary effect, the moral and intellectual degradation of 5 women. To their personal beauty, it was the fashion to pay rude and impudent homage. But the admiration and desire which they inspired were seldom mingled with respect, with affection, or with any chivalrous sentiment. The qualities which fit them to be companions, advisers, 10 confidential friends, rather repelled than attracted the libertines of Whitehall. In that court a maid of honour who dressed in such a manner as to do full justice to a white bosom, who ogled significantly, who danced voluptuously, who excelled in pert repartee, who was not ashamed 15 to romp with Lords of the Bedchamber and Captains of the Guards, to sing sly verses with sly expression, or to put on a page's dress for a frolic, was more likely to be followed and admired, more likely to be honoured with royal attentions, more likely to win a rich and noble 20 husband than Jane Grey or Lucy Hutchinson would have been. In such circumstances the standard of female attainments was necessarily low; and it was more dangerous to be above that standard than to be beneath it. Extreme ignorance and frivolity were thought less un- 25 becoming in a lady than the slightest tincture of pedantry. Of the too celebrated women whose faces we still admire on the walls of Hampton Court, few indeed were in the habit of reading anything more valuable than acrostics, lampoons, and translations of the *Clelia* and the *Grand* 80 *Cyrus*.

The literary acquirements, even of the accomplished gentlemen of that generation, seem to have been some-

when she was crowned in Westminster Abbey. In the title page are these words in her own hand, "This book was given the King and I, at our coronation. Marie R."

what less solid and profound than at an earlier or later period. Greek learning, at least, did not flourish among us in the days of Charles the Second, as it had flourished before the civil war, or as it again flourished long after the Revolution. There were undoubtedly scholars to whom the whole Greek literature, from Homer to Photius, was familiar: but such scholars were to be found almost exclusively among the clergy resident at the Universities, and even at the Universities were few, and were not fully appreciated. At Cambridge it was not thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original.¹ Nor was the standard at Oxford higher. When, in the reign of William the Third, Christ Church rose up as one man to defend the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, that great college, then considered as the first seat of philology in the kingdom, could not muster such a stock of Attic learning as is now possessed by several youths at every great public school. It may easily be supposed that a dead language, neglected at the Universities, was not much studied by men of the world. In a former age the poetry and eloquence of Greece had been the delight of Raleigh and Falkland. In a later age the poetry and eloquence of Greece were the delight of Pitt and Fox, of Windham and Grenville. But during the latter part of the seventeenth century there was in England scarcely one eminent statesman who could read with enjoyment a page of Sophocles or Plato.

Good Latin scholars were numerous. The language of Rome, indeed, had not altogether lost its imperial prerogatives, and was still, in many parts of Europe, almost indispensable to a traveller or a negotiator. To

¹ Roger North tells us that his brother John, who was Greek professor at Cambridge, complained bitterly of the general neglect of the Greek tongue among the academical clergy.

speak it well was therefore a much more common accomplishment than in our time; and neither Oxford nor Cambridge wanted poets who, on a great occasion, could lay at the foot of the throne happy imitations of the verses in which Virgil and Ovid had celebrated the greatness of Augustus.

Yet even the Latin was giving way to a younger rival. France united at that time almost every species of ascend-
 ency. Her military glory was at the height. She had vanquished mighty coalitions. She had dictated treaties. She had subjugated great cities and provinces. She had forced the Castilian pride to yield her the precedence. She had summoned Italian princes to prostrate themselves at her footstool. Her authority was supreme in all matters of good breeding, from a duel to a minuet. She determined how a gentleman's coat must be cut, how long his peruke must be, whether his heels must be high or low, and whether the lace on his hat must be broad or narrow. In literature she gave law to the world. The fame of her great writers filled Europe. No other country could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Molière, a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skilful as Bossuet. The literary glory of Italy and of Spain had set; that of Germany had not yet dawned. The genius, therefore, of the eminent men who adorned Paris shone forth with a splendour which was set off to full advantage by contrast. France, indeed, had at that time an empire over mankind, such as even the Roman Republic never attained. For, when Rome was politically dominant, she was in arts and letters the humble pupil of Greece. France had, over the surrounding countries, at once the ascendancy which Rome had over Greece, and the ascendancy which Greece had over Rome. French was fast becoming the universal language, the language of

Influence of
 10 French literature.

fashionable society, the language of diplomacy. At several courts princes and nobles spoke it more accurately and politely than their mother tongue. In our island there was less of this servility than on the Continent. Neither our good nor our bad qualities were those of imitators. 5 Yet even here homage was paid, awkwardly indeed and sullenly, to the literary supremacy of our neighbours. The melodious Tuscan, so familiar to the gallants and ladies of the court of Elizabeth, sank into contempt. A gentleman who quoted Horace or Terence was considered 10 in good company as a pompous pedant. But to garnish his conversation with scraps of French was the best proof which he could give of his parts and attainments.¹ New canons of criticism, new models of style came into fashion. The quaint ingenuity which had deformed the verses of 15 Donne, and had been a blemish on those of Cowley, disappeared from our poetry. Our prose became less majestic, less artfully involved, less variously musical than that of an earlier age, but more lucid, more easy, and better fitted for controversy and narrative. In these 20 changes it is impossible not to recognize the influence of French precept and of French example. Great masters of our language, in their most dignified compositions, affected to use French words, when English words, quite as expressive and sonorous, were at hand;² and from 25 France was imported the tragedy in rhyme, an exotic which, in our soil, drooped, and speedily died. ;

¹ Butler, in a satire of great asperity, says:

"For, though to smatter words of Greek
And Latin be the rhetorique
Of pedants counted, and vainglorious,
To smatter French is meritorious".

² The most offensive instance which I remember is in a poem on the coronation of Charles the Second by Dryden, who certainly could not plead poverty as an excuse for borrowing words from any foreign tongue:—

"Hither in summer evenings you repair
To taste the *frîcheur* of the cooler air".

It would have been well if our writers had also copied the decorum which their great French contemporaries, with few exceptions, preserved; for the profligacy of the English plays, satires, songs, and novels of that age is a deep blot on our national fame. The evil may easily be traced to its source. The wits and the Puritans had never been on friendly terms. There was no sympathy between the two classes. They looked on the whole system of human life from different points and in different lights. The earnest of each was the jest of the other. The pleasures of each were the torments of the other. To the stern precisian even the innocent sport of the fancy seemed a crime. To light and festive natures the solemnity of the zealous brethren furnished copious matter of ridicule. From the Reformation to the civil war, almost every writer, gifted with a fine sense of the ludicrous, had taken some opportunity of assailing the straighthaired, snuffing, whining saints, who christened their children out of the Book of Nehemiah, who groaned in spirit at the sight of Jack in the Green, and who thought it impious to taste plum porridge on Christmas day. At length a time came when the laughers began to look grave in their turn. The rigid, ungainly zealots, after having furnished much good sport during two generations, rose up in arms, conquered, ruled, and, grimly smiling, trod down under their feet the whole crowd of mockers. The wounds inflicted by gay and petulant malice were retaliated with the gloomy and implacable malice peculiar to bigots who mistake their own rancour for virtue. The theatres were closed. The players were flogged. The press was put under the guardianship of austere licensers. The Muses were banished from their own favourite haunts, Cambridge and Oxford. Cowley, Crashaw, and Cleveland were ejected from their fellowships. The

Immorality of the
polite literature
of England.

young candidate for academical honours was no longer required to write Ovidian epistles or Virgilian pastorals, but was strictly interrogated by a synod of lowering Supralapsarians as to the day and hour when he experienced the new birth. Such a system was of course fruitful of hypocrites. Under sober clothing and under visages composed to the expression of austerity lay hid during several years the intense desire of license and of revenge. At length that desire was gratified. The Restoration emancipated thousands of minds from a yoke which had become insupportable. The old fight recommenced, but with an animosity altogether new. It was now not a sportive combat, but a war to the death. The Roundhead had no better quarter to expect from those whom he had persecuted than a cruel slave driver can expect from insurgent slaves still bearing the marks of his collars and his scourges.

The war between wit and Puritanism soon became a war between wit and morality. The hostility excited by a grotesque caricature of virtue did not spare virtue herself. Whatever the canting Roundhead had regarded with reverence was insulted. Whatever he had proscribed was favoured. Because he had been scrupulous about trifles, all scruples were treated with derision. Because he had covered his failings with the mask of devotion, men were encouraged to obtrude with cynic impudence all their most scandalous vices on the public eye. Because he had punished illicit love with barbarous severity, virgin purity and conjugal fidelity were made a jest. To that sanctimonious jargon which was his Shibboleth, was opposed another jargon not less absurd and much more odious. As he never opened his mouth except in scriptural phrase, the new breed of wits and fine gentlemen never opened their mouths without uttering ribaldry of which a porter would now be ashamed, and without call-

ing on their Maker to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, and damn them.

It is not strange, therefore, that our polite literature, when it revived with the revival of the old civil and ecclesiastical polity, should have been profoundly immoral. A few eminent men, who belonged to an earlier and better age, were exempt from the general contagion. The verse of Waller still breathed the sentiments which had animated a more chivalrous generation. Cowley, distinguished as a loyalist and as a man of letters, raised his voice courageously against the immorality which disgraced both letters and loyalty. A mightier poet, tried at once by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around him, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal Virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold. The vigorous and fertile genius of Butler, if it did not altogether escape the prevailing infection, took the disease in a mild form. But these were men whose minds had been trained in a world which had passed away. They gave place in no long time to a younger generation of wits; and of that generation, from Dryden down to Durfey, the common characteristic was hard-hearted, shameless, swaggering licentiousness, at once inelegant and inhuman. The influence of these writers was doubtless noxious, yet less noxious than it would have been had they been less depraved. The poison which they administered was so strong that it was, in no long time, rejected with nausea. None of them understood the dangerous art of associating images of unlawful pleasure with all that is endearing and ennobling. None of them was aware that a certain decorum is essential even to

voluptuousness, that drapery may be more alluring than exposure, and that the imagination may be far more powerfully moved by delicate hints which impel it to exert itself, than by gross descriptions which it takes in passively.

5

The spirit of the Antipuritan reaction pervades almost the whole polite literature of the reign of Charles the Second. But the very quintessence of that spirit will be found in the comic drama. The playhouses, shut by the meddling fanatic in the day of his power, were again 10 crowded. To their old attractions new and more powerful attractions had been added. Scenery, dresses, and decorations, such as would now be thought mean or absurd, but such as would have been esteemed incredibly magnificent by those who, early in the seventeenth cen- 15 tury, sate on the filthy benches of the Hope, or under the thatched roof of the Rose, dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The fascination of sex was called in to aid the fascination of art: and the young spectator saw, with emotions unknown to the contemporaries of Shakespeare 20 and Jonson, tender and sprightly heroines personated by lovely women. From the day on which the theatres were reopened they became seminaries of vice; and the evil propagated itself. The profligacy of the representations soon drove away sober people. The frivolous and 25 dissolute who remained required every year stronger and stronger stimulants. Thus the artists corrupted the spectators, and the spectators the artists, till the turpitude of the drama became such as must astonish all who are not aware that extreme relaxation is the natural effect of 30 extreme restraint, and that an age of hypocrisy is, in the regular course of things, followed by an age of impudence.

Nothing is more characteristic of the times than the care with which the poets contrived to put all their loosest verses into the mouths of women. The com- 35

positions in which the greatest license was taken were the epilogues. They were almost always recited by favourite actresses; and nothing charmed the depraved audience so much as to hear lines grossly indecent repeated by a beautiful girl, who was supposed to have not yet lost her innocence.¹

Our theatre was indebted in that age for many plots and characters to Spain, to France, and to the old English masters: but whatever our dramatists touched they tainted. In their imitations the houses of Calderon's stately and highspirited Castilian gentlemen became sties of vice, Shakespeare's Viola a procuress, Molière's Misanthrope a ravisher, Molière's Agnes an adulteress. Nothing could be so pure or so heroic but that it became foul and ignoble by transfusion through those foul and ignoble minds.

Such was the state of the drama; and the drama was the department of polite literature in which a poet had the best chance of obtaining a subsistence by his pen. The sale of books was so small that a man of the greatest name could hardly expect more than a pittance for the copyright of the best performance. There cannot be a stronger instance than the fate of Dryden's last production, the *Fables*. That volume was published when he was universally admitted to be the chief of living English poets. It contains about twelve thousand lines. The versification is admirable, the narratives and descriptions full of life. To this day Palamon and Arcite, Cymon and Iphigenia, Theodore and Honoria, are the delight both of critics and of schoolboys. The collection includes Alexander's Feast, the noblest ode in our language. For the copyright Dryden received two hundred and fifty pounds, less than in our days has sometimes been paid for two articles in a review.² Nor does the bargain seem to have been a hard

¹ Jeremy Collier has censured this odious practice with his usual force and keenness.

² The contract will be found in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Dryden.

one. For the book went off slowly; and the second edition was not required till the author had been ten years in his grave. By writing for the theatre it was possible to earn a much larger sum with much less trouble. Southern made seven hundred pounds by one play.¹ Otway was raised from beggary to temporary affluence by the success of his *Don Carlos*.² Shadwell cleared a hundred and thirty pounds by a single representation of the *Squire of Alsatia*.³ The consequence was that every man who had to live by his wit wrote 10 plays, whether he had any internal vocation to write plays or not. It was thus with Dryden. As a satirist he has rivalled Juvenal. As a didactic poet he perhaps might, with care and meditation, have rivalled Lucretius. Of lyric poets he is, if not the most sublime, the most 15 brilliant and spirit-stirring. But nature, profuse to him of many rare gifts, had withheld from him the dramatic faculty. Nevertheless all the energies of his best years were wasted on dramatic composition. He had too much judgment not to be aware that in the power of 20 exhibiting character by means of dialogue he was deficient. That deficiency he did his best to conceal, sometimes by surprising and amusing incidents, sometimes by stately declamation, sometimes by harmonious numbers, sometimes by ribaldry but too well suited to the taste of 25 a profane and licentious pit. Yet he never obtained any theatrical success equal to that which rewarded the exertions of some men far inferior to him in general powers. He thought himself fortunate if he cleared a hundred guineas by a play; a scanty remuneration, yet 30 apparently larger than he could have earned in any other way by the same quantity of labour.⁴

The recompense which the wits of that age could ob-

¹ See the *Life of Southern*, by Shiels.

² *Some Account of the English Stage*

³ See Rochester's *Trial of the Poets*.

⁴ *Life of Southern*, by Shiels.

tain from the public was so small, that they were under the necessity of eking out their incomes by levying contributions on the great. Every rich and goodnatured lord was pestered by authors with a mendicancy so importunate, and a flattery so abject, as may in our time seem incredible. The patron to whom a work was inscribed was expected to reward the writer with a purse of gold. The fee paid for the dedication of a book was often much larger than the sum which any publisher
10 would give for the copyright. Books were therefore frequently printed merely that they might be dedicated. This traffic in praise produced the effect which might have been expected. Adulation pushed to the verge, sometimes of nonsense, and sometimes of impiety, was
15 not thought to disgrace a poet. Independence, veracity, self respect, were things not required by the world from him. In truth he was in morals something between a pander and a beggar.

To the other vices which degraded the literary character was added, towards the close of the reign of Charles
20 the Second, the most savage intemperance of party spirit. The wits, as a class, had been impelled by their old hatred of Puritanism to take the side of the court, and had been found useful allies. Dryden, in particular, had
25 done good service to the government. His *Absalom and Achitophel*, the greatest satire of modern times, had amazed the town, had made its way with unprecedented rapidity even into rural districts, and had, wherever it appeared, bitterly annoyed the Exclusionists, and raised
30 the courage of the Tories. But we must not, in the admiration which we naturally feel for noble diction and versification, forget the great distinctions of good and evil. The spirit by which Dryden and several of his compeers were at this time animated against the Whigs
35 deserves to be called fiendish. The servile Judges and

Sheriffs of those evil days could not shed blood so fast as the poets cried out for it. Calls for more victims, hideous jests on hanging, bitter taunts on those who, having stood by the King in the hour of danger, now advised him to deal mercifully and generously by his vanquished enemies, were publicly recited on the stage, and, that nothing might be wanting to the guilt and the shame, were recited by women, who, having long been taught to discard all modesty, were now taught to discard all compassion.¹

10

It is a remarkable fact that, while the lighter literature of England was thus becoming a nuisance and a national disgrace, the English genius was effecting in science a revolution which will, to the State of science in England. end of time, be reckoned among the highest achievements of the human intellect. Bacon had sown the good seed in a sluggish soil and an ungenial season. He had not expected an early crop, and in his last testament had solemnly bequeathed his fame to the next age. During a whole generation his philosophy had, amidst tumults, wars, and proscriptions, been slowly ripening in a few well constituted minds. While factions were struggling for dominion over each other, a small body of sages had turned away with benevolent disdain from the conflict, and had devoted themselves to the nobler work of extending the dominion of man over matter. As soon as tranquillity was restored, these teachers easily found attentive audience. For the discipline through which the nation had passed had brought the public mind to a temper well fitted for the reception of the Verulamian doctrine. The civil troubles had stimulated the faculties of the educated classes, and had called forth a restless

¹ If any reader thinks my expressions too severe, I would advise him to read Dryden's *Epilogue to the Duke of Guise*, and to observe that it was spoken by a woman.

activity and an insatiable curiosity, such as had not before been known among us. Yet the effect of those troubles was that schemes of political and religious reform were generally regarded with suspicion and contempt. During
5 twenty years the chief employment of busy and ingenious men had been to frame constitutions with first magistrates, without first magistrates, with hereditary senates, with senates appointed by lot, with annual senates, with perpetual senates. In these plans nothing was omitted. All
10 the detail, all the nomenclature, all the ceremonial of the imaginary government was fully set forth, Polemarchs and Phylarchs, Tribes and Galaxies, the Lord Archon and the Lord Strategus. Which ballot boxes were to be green and which red, which balls were to be of gold and which
15 of silver, which magistrates were to wear hats and which black velvet caps with peaks, how the mace was to be carried and when the heralds were to uncover, these, and a hundred more such trifles, were gravely considered and arranged by men of no common capacity and learning.¹
20 But the time for these visions had gone by; and, if any steadfast republican still continued to amuse himself with them, fear of public derision and of a criminal information generally induced him to keep his fancies to himself. It was now unpopular and unsafe to mutter a word
25 against the fundamental laws of the monarchy; but daring and ingenious men might indemnify themselves by treating with disdain what had lately been considered as the fundamental laws of nature. The torrent which had been dammed up in one channel rushed violently into
30 another. The revolutionary spirit ceasing to operate in politics, began to exert itself with unprecedented vigour and hardihood in every department of physics. The year 1660, the era of the restoration of the old constitution, is also the era from which dates the ascendancy of the new

¹ See particularly Harrington's *Oceana*.

philosophy. In that year the Royal Society, destined to be a chief agent in a long series of glorious and salutary reforms, began to exist.¹ In a few months experimental science became all the mode. The transfusion of blood, the ponderation of air, the fixation of mercury, succeeded 5 to that place in the public mind which had been lately occupied by the controversies of the Rota. Dreams of perfect forms of government made way for dreams of wings with which men were to fly from the Tower to the Abbey, and of doublekeeled ships which were never to 10 founder in the fiercest storm. All classes were hurried along by the prevailing sentiment. Cavalier and Roundhead, Churchman and Puritan, were for once allied. Divines, jurists, statesmen, nobles, princes, swelled the triumph of the Baconian philosophy. Poets sang with 15 emulous fervour the approach of the golden age. Cowley, in lines weighty with thought and resplendent with wit, urged the chosen seed to take possession of the promised land flowing with milk and honey, that land which their great deliverer and lawgiver had seen, as from the summit 20 of Pisgah, but had not been permitted to enter.² Dryden, with more zeal than knowledge, joined his voice to the general acclamation, and foretold things which neither he nor anybody else understood. The Royal Society, he predicted, would soon lead us to the extreme verge of the 25 globe, and there delight us with a better view of the moon.³ Two able and aspiring prelates, Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, and Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, were conspicuous among the leaders of the movement. Its history was eloquently written by a younger divine, who was 30

¹ See Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

² Cowley's *Ode to the Royal Society*.

³ "Then we upon the globe's last verge shall go,
And view the ocean leaning on the sky,
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry."

—*Annus Mirabilis*, 164.

rising to high distinction in his profession, Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Both Chief Justice Hale and Lord Keeper Guildford stole some hours from the business of their courts to write on hydrostatics. 5 Indeed it was under the immediate direction of Guildford that the first barometers ever exposed to sale in London were constructed.¹ Chemistry divided, for a time, with wine and love, with the stage and the gaming table, with the intrigues of a courtier and the intrigues 10 of a demagogue, the attention of the fickle Buckingham. Rupert has the credit of having invented mezzotinto; and from him is named that curious bubble of glass which has long amused children and puzzled philosophers. Charles himself had a laboratory at Whitehall, 15 and was far more active and attentive there than at the council board. It was almost necessary to the character of a fine gentleman to have something to say about air-pumps and telescopes; and even fine ladies, now and then, thought it becoming to affect a taste for science, 20 went in coaches and six to visit the Gresham curiosities, and broke forth into cries of delight at finding that a magnet really attracted a needle, and that a microscope really made a fly look as large as a sparrow.²

In this, as in every great stir of the human mind, there 25 was doubtless something which might well move a smile. It is the universal law that whatever pursuit, whatever doctrine, becomes fashionable, shall lose a portion of that dignity which it had possessed while it was confined to a small but earnest minority, and was loved for its 30 own sake alone. It is true that the follies of some persons who, without any real aptitude for science, professed a passion for it, furnished matter of contemptuous mirth to a few malignant satirists who belonged to the preceding generation, and were not disposed to unlearn the lore

¹ North's *Life of Guildford*.

² Pepys's *Diary*, May 30, 1667.

of their youth.¹ But it is not less true that the great work of interpreting nature was performed by the English of that age as it had never before been performed in any age by any nation. The spirit of Francis Bacon was abroad, a spirit admirably compounded of audacity and sobriety. There was a strong persuasion that the whole world was full of secrets of high moment to the happiness of man, and that man had, by his Maker, been entrusted with the key which, rightly used, would give access to them. There was at the same time a conviction that in physics it was impossible to arrive at the knowledge of general laws except by the careful observation of particular facts. Deeply impressed with these great truths, the professors of the new philosophy applied themselves to their task, and, before a quarter of a century had expired, they had given ample earnest of what has since been achieved. Already a reform of agriculture had been commenced. New vegetables were cultivated. New implements of husbandry were employed. New manures were applied to the soil.² Evelyn had, under the formal sanction of the Royal Society, given instruction to his countrymen in planting. Temple, in his intervals of leisure, had tried many experiments in horticulture, and had proved that many delicate fruits, the natives of more favoured climates, might, with the help of art, be grown on English ground. Medicine, which in France was still in abject bondage, and afforded an inexhaustible subject of just ridicule to Molière, had in England become an experimental and progressive science, and every day made some new advance, in

¹ Butler was, I think, the only man of real genius who, between the Restoration and the Revolution, showed a bitter enmity to the new philosophy, as it was then called. See the *Satire on the Royal Society*, and the *Elephant in the Moon*.

² The eagerness with which the agriculturists of that age tried experiments and introduced improvements is well described by Aubrey. See the *Natural History of Wiltshire*, 1685.

defiance of Hippocrates and Galen. The attention of speculative men had been, for the first time, directed to the important subject of sanitary police. The great plague of 1665 induced them to consider with care the defective architecture, draining, and ventilation of the capital. The great fire of 1666 afforded an opportunity for effecting extensive improvements. The whole matter was diligently examined by the Royal Society; and to the suggestions of that body must be partly attributed the changes which, though far short of what the public welfare required, yet made a wide difference between the new and the old London, and probably put a final close to the ravages of pestilence in our country.¹ At the same time one of the founders of the Society, Sir William Petty, created the science of political arithmetic, the humble but indispensable handmaid of political philosophy. No kingdom of nature was left unexplored. To that period belong the chemical discoveries of Boyle, and the earliest botanical researches of Sloane. It was then that Ray made a new classification of birds and fishes, and that the attention of Woodward was first drawn towards fossils and shells. One after another phantoms which had haunted the world through ages of darkness fled before the light. Astrology and alchymy became jests. Soon there was scarcely a county in which some of the Quorum did not smile contemptuously when an old woman was brought before them for riding on broomsticks or giving cattle the murrain. But it was in those noblest and most arduous departments of knowledge in which induction and mathematical demonstration co-operate for the discovery of truth, that the English genius won in that age the most memorable triumphs. John Wallis placed the whole system of statics on a new foundation. Edmund Halley investigated the properties

¹ Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

of the atmosphere, the ebb and flow of the sea, the laws of magnetism, and the course of the comets; nor did he shrink from toil, peril, and exile in the cause of science. While he, on the rock of Saint Helena, mapped the constellations of the southern hemisphere, our national observatory was rising at Greenwich; and John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, was commencing that long series of observations which is never mentioned without respect and gratitude in any part of the globe. But the glory of these men, eminent as they were, is cast into the shade by the transcendent lustre of one immortal name. In Isaac Newton two kinds of intellectual power, which have little in common, and which are not often found together in a very high degree of vigour, but which nevertheless are equally necessary in the most sublime departments of physics, were united as they have never been united before or since. There may have been minds as happily constituted as his for the cultivation of pure mathematical science: there may have been minds as happily constituted for the cultivation of science purely experimental: but in no other mind have the demonstrative faculty and the inductive faculty co-existed in such supreme excellence and perfect harmony. Perhaps in the days of Scotists and Thomists even his intellect might have run to waste, as many intellects ran to waste which were inferior only to his. Happily the spirit of the age on which his lot was cast, gave the right direction to his mind; and his mind reacted with tenfold force on the spirit of the age. In the year 1685 his fame, though splendid, was only dawning; but his genius was in the meridian. His great work, that work which effected a revolution in the most important provinces of natural philosophy, had been completed, but was not yet published, and was just about to be submitted to the consideration of the Royal Society.

It is not very easy to explain why the nation which was so far before its neighbours in science should in art have been far behind them. Yet such was the State of the Fine Arts. fact. It is true that in architecture, an art which is half a science, an art in which none but a geometrician can excel, an art which has no standard of grace but what is directly or indirectly dependent on utility, an art of which the creations derive a part, at least, of their majesty from mere bulk, our country could boast of one truly great man, Christopher Wren; and the fire which laid London in ruins had given him an opportunity, unprecedented in modern history, of displaying his powers. The austere beauty of the Athenian portico, the gloomy sublimity of the Gothic arcade, he was, like almost all his contemporaries, incapable of emulating, and perhaps incapable of appreciating: but no man, born on our side of the Alps, has imitated with so much success the magnificence of the palace-like churches of Italy. Even the superb Lewis has left to posterity no work which can bear a comparison with Saint Paul's. But at the close of the reign of Charles the Second there was not a single English painter or statuary whose name is now remembered. This sterility is somewhat mysterious; for painters and statuaries were by no means a despised or an ill-paid class. Their social position was at least as high as at present. Their gains, when compared with the wealth of the nation and with the remuneration of other descriptions of intellectual labour, were even larger than at present. Indeed the munificent patronage which was extended to artists drew them to our shores in multitudes. Lely, who has preserved to us the rich curls, the full lips, and the languishing eyes of the frail beauties celebrated by Hamilton, was a Westphalian. He had died in 1680, having long lived splendidly, having received the honour of knighthood, and

having accumulated a good estate out of the fruits of his skill. His noble collection of drawings and pictures was, after his decease, exhibited by the royal permission in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and was sold by auction for the almost incredible sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, a sum which bore a greater proportion to the fortunes of the rich men of that day than a hundred thousand pounds would bear to the fortunes of the rich men of our time.¹ Lely was succeeded by his countryman Godfrey Kneller, who was made first a knight and then a baronet, and who, after keeping up a sumptuous establishment, and after losing much money by unlucky speculations, was still able to bequeath a large fortune to his family. The two Van de Veldes, natives of Holland, had been tempted by English liberality to settle here, and had produced for the King and his nobles some of the finest sea pieces in the world. Another Dutchman, Simon Varelst, painted glorious sunflowers and tulips for prices such as had never before been known. Verrio, a Neapolitan, covered ceilings and staircases with Gorgons and Muses, Nymphs and Satyrs, Virtues and Vices, Gods quaffing nectar, and laurelled princes riding in triumph. The income which he derived from his performances enabled him to keep one of the most expensive tables in England. For his pieces at Windsor alone he received seven thousand pounds, a sum then sufficient to make a gentleman of moderate wishes perfectly easy for life, a sum greatly exceeding all that Dryden, during a literary life of forty years, obtained from the booksellers.² Verrio's assistant and successor, Lewis Laguerre, came from France. The two most celebrated sculptors of that day were also foreigners. Cibber, whose pathetic

¹ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*; *London Gazette*, May 31, 1683; North's *Life of Guildford*.

² The great prices paid to Varelst and Verrio are mentioned in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

emblems of Fury and Melancholy still adorn Bedlam, was a Dane. Gibbons, to whose graceful fancy and delicate touch many of our palaces, colleges, and churches owe their finest decorations, was a Dutchman. Even the designs for the coin were made by French artists. Indeed, it was not till the reign of George the Second that our country could glory in a great painter; and George the Third was on the throne before she had reason to be proud of any of her sculptors.

10 It is time that this description of the England which Charles the Second governed should draw to a close. Yet one subject of the highest moment still remains untouched. Nothing has yet been said of the great body of the people, of those who held the ploughs, who tended
15 the oxen, who toiled at the looms of Norwich, and squared the Portland stone for Saint Paul's. Nor can very much be said. The most numerous class is precisely the class respecting which we have the most meagre information. In those times philanthropists did not yet regard it as
20 a sacred duty, nor had demagogues yet found it a lucrative trade, to talk and write about the distress of the labourer. History was too much occupied with courts and camps to spare a line for the hut of the peasant or the garret of the mechanic. The press now often sends
25 forth in a day a greater quantity of discussion and declamation about the condition of the working man than was published during the twenty-eight years which elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution. But it would be a great error to infer from the increase of com-
30 plaint that there has been any increase of misery.

The great criterion of the state of the common people is the amount of their wages; and as four-
 State of the
 common
 people.
 fifths of the common people were, in the
 seventeenth century, employed in agriculture,
 35 it is especially important to ascertain what were then the

wages of agricultural industry. On this subject we have the means of arriving at conclusions sufficiently exact for our purpose.

Sir William Petty, whose mere assertion carries great weight, informs us that a labourer was by no means in the lowest state who received for a day's work fourpence with food, or eightpence without food. Four shillings a week therefore were, according to Petty's calculation, fair agricultural wages.¹

That this calculation was not remote from the truth we have abundant proof. About the beginning of the year 1685 the justices of Warwickshire, in the exercise of a power entrusted to them by an Act of Elizabeth, fixed at their quarter sessions a scale of wages for the county, and notified that every employer who gave more than the authorized sum, and every working man who received more, would be liable to punishment. The wages of the common agricultural labourer, from March to September, were fixed at the precise amount mentioned by Petty, namely, four shillings a week without food. From September to March the wages were to be only three and sixpence a week.²

But in that age, as in ours, the earnings of the peasant were very different in different parts of the kingdom. The wages of Warwickshire were probably about the average, and those of the counties near the Scottish border below it: but there were more favoured districts. In the same year, 1685, a gentleman of Devonshire, named Richard Dunning, published a small tract, in which he described the condition of the poor of that county. That he understood his subject well it is impossible to doubt; for a few months later his work was reprinted, and was, by the magistrates assembled in quarter sessions at Exeter strongly recommended to the

¹ Petty's *Political Arithmetic*.

² Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4; *Archæologia*, vol. xi.

attention of all parochial officers. According to him, the wages of the Devonshire peasant were, without food, about five shillings a week.¹

Still better was the condition of the labourer in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's. The magistrates of Suffolk met there in the spring of 1682 to fix a rate of wages, and resolved that, where the labourer was not boarded, he should have five shillings a week in winter, and six in summer.²

10 In 1661 the justices at Chelmsford had fixed the wages of the Essex labourer, who was not boarded, at six shillings in winter and seven in summer. This seems to have been the highest remuneration given in the kingdom for agricultural labour between the Restoration and
15 the Revolution; and it is to be observed that, in the year in which this order was made, the necessities of life were immoderately dear. Wheat was at seventy shillings the quarter, which would even now be considered as almost a famine price.³

20 These facts are in perfect accordance with another fact which seems to deserve consideration. It is evident that, in a country where no man can be compelled to become a soldier, the ranks of an army cannot be filled if the government offers much less than the wages of
25 common rustic labour. At present the pay and beer money of a private in a regiment of the line amount to seven shillings and sevenpence a week. This stipend, coupled with the hope of a pension, does not attract the English youth in sufficient numbers; and it is found
30 necessary to supply the deficiency by enlisting largely from among the poorer population of Munster and Connaught. The pay of the private foot soldier in 1685

¹ *Plain and Easy Method showing how the Office of Overseer of the Poor may be managed*, by Richard Dunning; 1st edition, 1685; 2nd edition, 1686.

² Cullum's *History of Hawsted*.

³ Ruggles on the Poor.

was only four shillings and eightpence a week; yet it is certain that the government in that year found no difficulty in obtaining many thousands of English recruits at very short notice. The pay of the private foot soldier in the army of the Commonwealth had been seven shillings a week, that is to say, as much as a corporal received under Charles the Second;¹ and seven shillings a week had been found sufficient to fill the ranks with men decidedly superior to the generality of the people. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that, in the reign of Charles the Second, the ordinary wages of the peasant did not exceed four shillings a week; but that, in some parts of the kingdom, five shillings, six shillings, and during the summer months, even seven shillings were paid. At present a district where a labouring man earns only seven shillings a week is thought to be in a state shocking to humanity. The average is very much higher; and, in prosperous counties, the weekly wages of husbandmen amount to twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen shillings. 20

The remuneration of workmen employed in manufactures has always been higher than that of the tillers of the soil. In the year 1680, a member of the House of Commons remarked that the high wages paid in this country made it impossible for our textures to maintain a competition with the produce of the Indian looms. An English mechanic, he said, instead of slaving like a native of Bengal for a piece of copper, exacted a shilling a day.² Other evidence is extant which proves that a shilling a day was the pay to which the English manufacturer then thought himself entitled, but that he was often forced to work for

Wages of
manufac-
turers. 25

¹ See, in Thurloe's State Papers, the memorandum of the Dutch Deputies, dated August 27, 1653.

² The orator was Mr. John Basset, member for Barnstaple. See Smith's *Memoirs of Wool*, chapter lxviii.

less. The common people of that age were not in the habit of meeting for public discussion, of haranguing, or of petitioning Parliament. No newspaper pleaded their cause. It was in a rude rhyme that their love and hatred, 5 their exultation and their distress found utterance. A great part of their history is to be learned only from their ballads. One of the most remarkable of the popular lays chaunted about the streets of Norwich and Leeds in the time of Charles the Second may still be read on 10 the original broadside. It is the vehement and bitter cry of labour against capital. It describes the good old times when every artisan employed in the woollen manufacture lived as well as a farmer. But those times were past. Sixpence a day was now all that could be earned 15 by hard labour at the loom. If the poor complained that they could not live on such a pittance, they were told that they were free to take it or leave it. For so miserable a recompense were the producers of wealth compelled to toil, rising early and lying down late, while 20 the master clothier, eating, sleeping, and idling, became rich by their exertions. A shilling a day, the poet declares, is what the weaver would have, if justice were done.¹ We may therefore conclude that, in the genera-

¹ This ballad is in the British Museum. The precise year is not given; but the Imprimatur of Roger Lestrangle fixes the date sufficiently for my purpose. I will quote some of the lines. The master clothier is introduced speaking as follows:—

"In former ages we used to give,
So that our workfolks like farmers did live;
But the times are changed, we will make them know,

We will make them to work hard for sixpence a day,
Though a shilling they deserve if they had their just pay;
If at all they murmur and say 't is too small,
We bid them choose whether they 'll work at all.
And thus we do gain all our wealth and estate,
By many poor men that work early and late.
Then hey for the clothing trade! It goes on brave;
We scorn for to toyl and moyl, nor yet to slave.
Our workmen do work hard, but we live at ease,
We go when we will, and we come when we please."

tion which preceded the Revolution, a workman employed in the great staple manufacture of England thought himself fairly paid if he gained six shillings a week.

It may here be noticed that the practice of setting children prematurely to work, a practice which the state, ⁵ the legitimate protector of those who cannot protect themselves, has, in our time, wisely and humanely interdicted, prevailed in the seven-
Labour of children in factories.
 teenth century to an extent which, when compared with the extent of the manufacturing system, seems almost ¹⁰ incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered as eminently benevolent, mentioned, with exultation, the fact that, in that single ¹⁵ city, boys and girls of very tender age created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by twelve thousand pounds a year.¹ The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age ²⁰ has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them.

When we pass from the weavers of cloth to a different ²⁵ class of artisans, our enquiries will still lead us to nearly the same conclusions. During several generations, the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital have kept a register of the wages
Wages of different classes of artisans.
 paid to different classes of workmen who have been ³⁰ employed in the repairs of the building. From this valuable record it appears that, in the course of a

¹ Chamberlayne's *State of England*; Petty's *Political Arithmetic*, chapter viii.; Dunning's *Plain and Easy Method*; Firmin's *Proposition for the Employing of the Poor*. It ought to be observed that Firmin was an eminent philanthropist.

hundred and twenty years, the daily earnings of the bricklayer have risen from half a crown to four and tenpence, those of the mason from half a crown to five and threepence, those of the carpenter from half a crown to five and fivepence, and those of the plumber from three shillings to five and sixpence.

It seems clear, therefore, that the wages of labour, estimated in money, were, in 1685, not more than half of what they now are; and there were few articles 10 important to the working man of which the price was not, in 1685, more than half of what it now is. Beer was undoubtedly much cheaper in that age than at present. Meat was also cheaper, but was still so dear that hundreds of thousands of families scarcely knew the 15 taste of it.¹ In the cost of wheat there has been very little change. The average price of the quarter, during the last twelve years of Charles the Second, was fifty shillings. Bread, therefore, such as is now given to the inmates of a workhouse, was then seldom seen, even on 20 the trencher of a yeoman or of a shopkeeper. The great majority of the nation lived almost entirely on rye, barley, and oats.

The produce of tropical countries, the produce of the mines, the produce of machinery, was positively dearer 25 than at present. Among the commodities for which the labourer would have had to pay higher in 1685 than his posterity now pay, were sugar, salt, coals, candles, soap, shoes, stockings, and generally all articles of clothing and all articles of bedding. It may be added, that the 30 old coats and blankets would have been, not only more costly, but less serviceable, than the modern fabrics.

It must be remembered that those labourers who were

¹ King in his *Natural and Political Conclusions* roughly estimated the common people of England at 880,000 families. Of these families 440,000, according to him, ate animal food twice a week. The remaining 440,000 ate it not at all, or at most not oftener than once a week.

able to maintain themselves and their families by means of wages were not the most necessitous members of the community. Beneath them lay a large class which could not subsist without some aid from the parish. There can hardly be a more important test of the condition of the common people than the ratio which this class bears to the whole society. At present the men, women, and children who receive relief appear from the official returns to be, in bad years, one tenth of the inhabitants of England, and, in good years, one thirteenth. Gregory King estimated them in his time at about a fourth; and this estimate, which all our respect for his authority will scarcely prevent us from calling extravagant, was pronounced by Davenant eminently judicious.

Number of
paupers.

15

We are not quite without the means of forming an estimate for ourselves. The poor rate was undoubtedly the heaviest tax borne by our ancestors in those days. It was computed, in the reign of Charles the Second, at near seven hundred thousand pounds a year, much more than the produce either of the excise or of the customs, and little less than half the entire revenue of the crown. The poor rate went on increasing rapidly, and appears to have risen in a short time to between eight and nine hundred thousand a year, that is to say, to one sixth of what it now is. The population was then less than a third of what it now is; the minimum of wages estimated in money, was half of what it now is; and we can therefore hardly suppose that the average allowance made to a pauper can have been more than half of what it now is. It seems to follow that the proportion of the English people which received parochial relief then must have been larger than the proportion which receives relief now. It is good to speak on such questions with diffidence: but it has certainly

35

never yet been proved that pauperism was a less heavy burden or a less serious social evil during the last quarter of the seventeenth century than it is in our own time.¹

In one respect it must be admitted that the progress of civilization has diminished the physical comforts of a portion of the poorest class. It has already been mentioned that, before the Revolution, many thousands of square miles, now enclosed and cultivated, were marsh, forest, and heath. Of this wild land much was, by law, common, and much of what was not common by law was worth so little that the proprietors suffered it to be common in fact. In such a tract, squatters and trespassers were tolerated to an extent now unknown. The peasant who dwelt there could, at little or no charge, procure occasionally some palatable addition to his hard fare, and provide himself with fuel for the winter. He kept a flock of geese on what is now an orchard rich with apple blossoms. He snared wild fowl on the fen which has long since been drained and divided into corn fields and turnip fields. He cut turf among the furze bushes on the moor which is now a meadow bright with clover and renowned for butter and cheese. The progress of agriculture and the increase of population necessarily deprived him of these privileges. But against this disadvantage a long list of advantages is to be set off. Of the blessings which civilization and philosophy bring with them a large proportion is common to all ranks, and would, if withdrawn, be missed as painfully by the labourer as by

25 Benefits derived by the common people from the progress of civilization.

¹ *Fourteenth Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, Appendix B, No. 2, Appendix C, No. 1, 1848. Of the two estimates of the poor rate mentioned in the text, one was formed by Arthur Moore, the other, some years later, by Richard Dunning. Moore's estimate will be found in Davenant's *Essay on Ways and Means*; Dunning's in Sir Frederick Eden's valuable work on the poor. King and Davenant estimate the paupers and beggars in 1696, at the incredible number of 1,330,000 out of a population of 5,500,000. In 1846 the number of persons who received relief appears from the official returns to have been only

the peer. The market place which the rustic can now reach with his cart in an hour was, a hundred and sixty years ago, a day's journey from him. The street which now affords to the artisan, during the whole night, a secure, a convenient, and a brilliantly lighted walk, was, a hundred and sixty years ago, so dark after sunset that he would not have been able to see his hand, so ill paved that he would have run constant risk of breaking his neck, and so ill watched that he would have been in imminent danger of being knocked down and plundered of his small earnings. Every bricklayer who falls from a scaffold, every sweeper of a crossing who is run over by a carriage, may now have his wounds dressed and his limbs set with a skill such as, a hundred and sixty years ago, all the wealth of a great lord like Ormond, or of a merchant prince like Clayton, could not have purchased. Some frightful diseases have been extirpated by science; and some have been banished by police. The term of human life has been lengthened over the whole kingdom, and especially in the towns. The year 1685 was not accounted sickly; yet in the year 1685 more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of the capital died.¹ At present only one inhabitant of the capital in forty dies annually. The difference in salubrity between the London of the nineteenth century and the London of the seventeenth century is very far greater than the difference between London in an ordinary year and London in a year of cholera.

Still more important is the benefit which all orders of society, and especially the lower orders, have derived

1,332,089 out of a population of about 17,000,000. It ought also to be observed that, in those returns, a pauper must very often be reckoned more than once.

I would advise the reader to consult De Foe's pamphlet entitled *Giving Alms to Charity*, and the Greenwich tables which will be found in Mr. M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary* under the head Prices

¹ The deaths were 23,222.—Petty's *Political Arithmetic*.

from the mollifying influence of civilization on the national character. The groundwork of that character has indeed been the same through many generations, in the sense in which the groundwork of the character of an individual
5 may be said to be the same when he is a rude and thoughtless schoolboy and when he is a refined and accomplished man. It is pleasing to reflect that the public mind of England has softened while it has ripened, and that we have, in the course of ages, become, not
10 only a wiser, but also a kinder people. There is scarcely a page of the history or lighter literature of the seventeenth century which does not contain some proof that our ancestors were less humane than their posterity. The discipline of workshops, of schools, of private families,
15 though not more efficient than at present, was infinitely harsher. Masters, well born and bred, were in the habit of beating their servants. Pedagogues knew no way of imparting knowledge but by beating their pupils. Husbands, of decent station, were not ashamed to beat their
20 wives. The implacability of hostile factions was such as we can scarcely conceive. Whigs were disposed to murmur because Stafford was suffered to die without seeing his bowels burned before his face. Tories reviled and insulted Russell as his coach passed from the Tower to
25 the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹ As little mercy was shown by the populace to sufferers of a humbler rank. If an offender was put into the pillory, it was well if he escaped with life from the shower of brickbats and paving stones.² If he was tied to the cart's tail the crowd
30 pressed round him imploring the hangman to give it the fellow well, and make him howl.³ Gentlemen arranged parties of pleasure to Bridewell on court days, for the purpose of seeing the wretched women who beat hemp

¹ Burnet, i. 560.

² Muggleton's *Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit*.

³ Tom Brown describes such a scene in lines which I do not venture to quote.

there whipped.¹ A man pressed to death for refusing to plead, a woman burned for coining, excited less sympathy than is now felt for a galled horse or an overdriven ox. Fights compared with which a boxing match is a refined and humane spectacle were among the favourite diversions of a large part of the town. Multitudes assembled to see gladiators hack each other to pieces with deadly weapons, and shouted with delight when one of the combatants lost a finger or an eye. The prisons were hells on earth, seminaries of every crime and of every disease.¹⁰ At the assizes the lean and yellow culprits brought with them from their cells to the dock an atmosphere of stench and pestilence which sometimes avenged them signally on bench, bar, and jury. But on all this misery society looked with profound indifference. Nowhere could be¹⁵ found that sensitive and restless compassion which has, in our time, extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave, which pries into the stores and watercasks of every emigrant ship, which winces at every lash laid on the back of a²⁰ drunken soldier, which will not suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill fed or overworked, and which has repeatedly endeavoured to save the life even of the murderer. It is true that compassion ought, like all other feelings, to be under the government of reason, and has, for want of²⁵ such government, produced some ridiculous and some deplorable effects. But the more we study the annals of the past the more shall we rejoice that we live in a merciful age, in an age in which cruelty is abhorred, and in which pain, even when deserved, is inflicted reluctantly³⁰ and from a sense of duty. Every class doubtless has gained largely by this great moral change; but the class which has gained most is the poorest, the most dependent, and the most defenceless.

¹ Ward's *London Spy*.

The general effect of the evidence which has been submitted to the reader seems hardly to admit of doubt.

Yet, in spite of evidence, many will still
 Delusion which leads men to overrate the happiness of preceding generations.
 image to themselves the England of the Stuarts as a more pleasant country than the England in which we live. It may at first sight seem strange that society, while constantly moving forward with eager speed, should be constantly looking backward with tender regret. But these two propensities, inconsistent as they may appear, can easily be resolved into the same principle. Both spring from our impatience of the state in which we actually are. That impatience, while it stimulates us to surpass preceding generations, disposes us to overrate their happiness. It is, in some sense, unreasonable and ungrateful in us to be constantly discontented with a condition which is constantly improving. But, in truth, there is constant improvement precisely because there is constant discontent. If we were perfectly satisfied with the present, we should cease to contrive, to labour, and to save with a view to the future. And it is natural that, being dissatisfied with the present, we should form a too favourable estimate of the past.

In truth we are under a deception similar to that which misleads the traveller in the Arabian desert. Beneath the caravan all is dry and bare; but far in advance, and far in the rear, is the semblance of refreshing waters. The pilgrims hasten forward and find nothing but sand where, an hour before, they had seen a lake. They turn their eyes and see a lake where, an hour before, they were toiling through sand. A similar illusion seems to haunt nations through every stage of the long progress from poverty and barbarism to the highest degrees of opulence and civilization. But, if we resolutely chase the mirage backward, we shall find it recede before us

into the regions of fabulous antiquity. It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman, when farmers and shopkeepers breakfasted on loaves the very sight of which would raise a riot in a modern workhouse, when to have a clean shirt once a week was a privilege reserved for the higher class of gentry, when men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and when men died faster ¹⁰ in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana. We too shall, in our turn, be outstripped, and in our turn be envied. It may well be, in the twentieth century, that the peasant of Dorsetshire may think himself miserably paid with twenty shillings a week; ¹⁵ that the carpenter at Greenwich may receive ten shillings a day; that labouring men may be as little used to dine without meat as they now are to eat rye bread; that sanitary police and medical discoveries may have added several more years to the average length of human life; ²⁰ that numerous comforts and luxuries which are now unknown, or confined to a few, may be within the reach of every diligent and thrifty working man. And yet it may then be the mode to assert that the increase of wealth and the progress of science have benefited the few at the ²⁵ expense of the many, and to talk of the reign of Queen Victoria as the time when England was truly merry England, when all classes were bound together by brotherly sympathy, when the rich did not grind the faces of the poor, and when the poor did not envy the ³⁰ splendour of the rich.

NOTES

It will be remembered that the first two volumes of Macaulay's *History* were published in 1848: the year to which the chapter refers is 1685; the changes which he describes had therefore been brought about during a period of 163 years. More than fifty years have gone by since the chapter was written, and during that time the rapid advance of science and other influences have brought about such further changes that the contrast between the England of to-day and the England of 1685 as we read of it in Macaulay's pages is much more striking than the contrast which presented itself to him as he wrote them. Some of the foot-notes were added by Macaulay in 1857, and even in those nine years a noticeable advance had been made.

Page 2

line 11. the day of the Restoration, May 29, 1660.

12. the day when the Long Parliament met, November 3, 1640. The interval is thus just under twenty years, and it had been largely a time of war.

13. public bankruptcy: Charles II had borrowed £1,400,000 from the goldsmiths of London, who were the bankers of those days. On Jan. 2nd, 1672, it was announced that this money would not be repaid, and that the interest would be diminished from 12 to 6 per cent.

14. two costly and unsuccessful wars: both with Holland. The first lasted from Feb., 1665, to July, 1667; the second from March, 1672, to Feb., 1674.

15. Pestilence, the Plague of London, 1665, which was followed by the Fire of London in Sept., 1666.

16. death of Charles the Second, Feb. 6, 1685.

25. Moscow to Lisbon in the wars with Napoleon.

28. revolutions; as for instance in France in 1789, and again in 1830, in Spain and Italy in 1820. In the year in which the first two volumes of the *History* was published (1848) there were revolutionary movements in several countries of Europe.

30. more than a hundred years: the last was in 1745 when Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, invaded England.

Page 3

line 33. its present suburb: London south of the Thames has grown immensely since Macaulay's time, and now includes densely populated areas, such as Southwark, Camberwell, Lambeth, Battersea, Wandsworth, as well as suburban districts proper.

Page 4

line 12. numbering the people: it was not till 1801 that a properly organized census was taken in England. Most of the other countries of Europe began the practice at a later date.

26. Isaac Vossius (1618-1688), born at Leyden, of Dutch parents. He settled in England in 1670, and was made canon of Windsor by Charles II, though singularly unsuited to such a position.

Page 5

line 12. Gregory King (1648-1712), the author of a number of works on heraldry and statistics. The Lancaster Herald is one of the six heralds (subordinate to the three chief heralds, called Kings of Arms) whose duties include the superintending of the arrangements for coronations and other great public functions. King assisted in the coronations of James II, William III and Mary.

16. hearth money, a tax of two shillings on every hearth in a house. It was first imposed in 1663, and done away with in 1689, being a very unpopular tax. In a somewhat different form, called "chimney money", it dates back to the time of the Norman Conquest. There is a fuller account of it in chap. xi, where Macaulay is speaking of its abolition.

Page 6

line 14. her present population: in 1851, shortly after Macaulay's *History* was published, the population of England and Wales was very nearly 18 millions: in 1901 it was 32½ millions.

29. union of the . . . crowns, in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became also James I of England.

33. west of the Mississippi: the change which has come over the Western States of America since the time when Macaulay was writing is no less striking than the changes in England which he is describing in this chapter.

Page 7

line 6. moss-troopers, men who infested the moorlands (mosses) on the border between England and Scotland. See page 13, l. 8.

23. fells, hills or wild stretches of high waste land.

Borrowdale is in Cumberland, inland; Ravenglass on the coast of the same county; the distance between them is about fifteen miles in a straight line.

30. the Peel: remains of many of these fortified towers are still to be found on the Scottish border.

Page 8

line 1. no traveller, &c.: this is a sample of the way in which Macaulay sometimes allows his rhetoric to lead him into exaggeration.

Page 9

REVENUE. The increase in the amount of money required for the purposes of government since 1685 is very striking. The following figures show the approximate annual revenue at three periods:—

In the reign of Charles II	£1,400,000
At the time when Macaulay was writing ...	56,000,000
As provided in the Budget of 1904 ...	143,000,000

16. United Provinces, now the kingdom of the Netherlands, or Holland.

18. excise, a duty levied upon goods produced in a country. It was very unpopular, as is shown by the definition given by Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary (1755): "A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom the excise is paid".

21. customs, duties levied upon goods brought into a country from abroad.

24. tax on chimneys, same as the hearth money referred to on page 5, l. 16.

Page 10

line 19. first fruits: before the Reformation, when a new bishop was appointed, he was required to pay the first year's income of his bishopric to the Pope. This arrangement was afterwards extended to the lower orders of clergy. After the Reformation the payment was made to the Crown instead of to the Pope.

tenths: the clergy were also required to pay a tenth part of the annual income derived from their livings to the Pope, and at a later date to the Crown.

Page 11

line 5. lay out the whole exactly as he thought fit. Since the Revolution (1688) it has been the custom for the House of Commons not only to vote the money required for the public service, but to control the spending of it.

8. post-office, see page 111.

13. fraudulently detained: in 1672. See note on page 2, l. 13.

14. Cabal was a word that might be applied to any small body of persons engaged in a secret enterprise. The name was used in the reign of Charles II to denote the small body of men who mainly carried on the government of the country. It was noticed about 1673 that by a curious coincidence the initial letters of the names of the ministers whom Charles most frequently consulted made up this word: they were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

Danby, Earl of (1631-1712), was Lord High Treasurer under Charles II.

27. system of funding, the changing of a temporary loan into a more or less permanent debt at a fixed rate of interest.

THE ARMY (pages 11-20). One of the points in this section is the explanation of the difficulties in the way of forming an efficient standing army. Both political parties were opposed to it: the Tories because of their memories of military rule under Cromwell; the Whigs because, remembering the reign of Charles I, they feared that his son might use it to suppress the liberties of the nation, and to make himself absolute. In the Bill of Rights, passed at the beginning of William III's reign (1689), it was stated with unmistakable plainness "that the raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law". It was, of course, only the insular position of England that made it possible to do without such an army, and even so the policy was not without risk.

33. help from Versailles, from Louis XIV of France; the palace of Versailles, near Paris, was his chief residence. Louis paid large sums of money to Charles to prevent England from joining the enemies of France.

Page 12

line 2. that load, the cost of keeping up a standing army.

5. Henry the Fourth of France, contemporary with Queen Elizabeth of England.

6. Philip the Second of Spain, husband of Mary, Queen of England.

7. Bastions, the projecting part of a fortification, designed so as to bring a cross fire to bear on an attacking force.

8. ravelin, the wall behind the first ditch in a bastion fortification.

9. Parma, Duke of (1546-1592), a distinguished general who was Governor of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain.

Spinola, Marquis of (1571-1630), another great general in the service of Spain.

11. Richelieu, Cardinal (1585-1642), the great French statesman under Louis XIII of France.

29. keep, the innermost tower of a castle, usually of great strength.

Page 13

line 6. Spanish sail, as described in Macaulay's poem *The Armada*:

"For swift to east and swift to west the ghastly war-flame spread,
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone, it shone on Beachy Head.
Far on the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shore,
Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire".

15. militia was the old constitutional force of England, formed in 1285. Service was compulsory, men being selected by ballot. It now forms the part of the army mainly intended for the defence of the country against a foreign invader.

26. Synteleia, a group of persons who shared the expense of fitting out one of the larger warships.

Page 14

line 3. Lords Lieutenants: in each county some person, generally a peer or some other large land-owner, is appointed by the crown, with this title, to act as the chief executive authority. Under him are the deputy lieutenants. Macaulay uses a different plural form, *Lord Lieutenants*, on page 79, l. 16; both are recognized, as also is the form *Lords-Lieutenant*.

10. trainbands, i.e. trained bands; a force instituted by James I, somewhat on the lines of our modern volunteers. The London trainbands took the side of the Parliament in the Civil War, and the force was abolished by Charles II. We are told that John Gilpin was "a trainband captain . . . of famous London town".

18. Vauban, Sebastian (1633-1707), a famous military engineer who became Marshal of France. He is said to have conducted fifty successful sieges, and to have designed or improved one hundred and sixty fortresses.

19. chase the Ottoman from the gates of Vienna: the Turks invaded Hungary and besieged Vienna in 1683. They

were driven away by John Sobieski, King of Poland, with Polish and German troops.

24. ported pikes: to "port arms" is to hold one's weapon in a sloping direction across the body, pointing upwards.

Page 15

line 22. One such army, the New Model Army, which won the battle of Naseby, 1645, and had a large share in the government of the country from that time to the Restoration.

Page 16

line 11. beefeaters, the popular name for the Yeomen of the Guard, a section of whom, wearing the same antique uniform, are the wardens of the Tower of London. The obvious derivation is the correct one.

13. Fifth Monarchy men: in the *Book of Daniel* (chap. ii) there is an account of an image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in a vision. The head of the image was of gold; then came silver, brass, iron, and the feet were part of iron and part of clay. This was interpreted by Daniel to foreshadow the various kingdoms that were to arise in turn. The first four have been supposed to refer to Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome respectively, and a small section of the Puritans believed that the rule of Cromwell was the Fifth Monarchy, and that during his time the Millennium would begin. Many of these fanatics were in the New Model Army. (See also note on page 75, l. 4.)

22. Tangier, on the north coast of Morocco. It was given by the King of Portugal to Charles II as a dowry when he married Catherine of Braganza. The fortifications were dismantled, and the place was abandoned, in 1683. Macaulay implies that he regards the abandonment of Tangier as a wise step, but this view is open to grave question. The value of the place was that it served as a base for the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and by "retaining her hold upon the Mediterranean England would have kept the dominating position in Europe which Cromwell had made for her". The question is dealt with fully in Julian Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*.

28. into Madrid on 12th August, 1812, during the Peninsular War.

29. Paris on 3rd July, 1815, after the battle of Waterloo.

With reference to Canton the statement is not strictly accurate. Macaulay is referring to the events of 1841, when we were at war with China. The troops had made a successful advance, and in May, 1841, were in a position to assault Canton, when the Chinese

authorities approached Captain Elliot, the British representative in China, and agreed to pay to his government a ransom of £1,250,000 if he would refrain from occupying the city. These terms were accepted, so that the army did not, on that occasion, "march triumphantly into . . . Canton". In April, 1847, a small force again reached a point near to the city, and seized the batteries on the islands opposite, but it also was withdrawn without entering the city. The mistake is the more curious because great indignation was aroused when the news of Elliot's action reached England. It was considered that he had shown unwise leniency in not taking possession of the city, and the same feeling was expressed some years later when further difficulties arose in China. Captain Osborn, an officer of considerable experience in those parts, wrote in 1860: "At Canton I hold that much of the contempt for us arises from our having hesitated in 1840 [the war began in 1840] to convince them of the superiority of our military power, by accepting a ransom of six million dollars instead of marching through that city". Macaulay must at the time have been fully acquainted with the facts, for he was a member of Parliament, and had indeed held the post of Secretary at War from September, 1839, to August, 1841. Nine years after the statement was published (it appeared in the first edition of the *History* in 1848) it became literally true, for in December, 1857, during the second war with China, our forces, in conjunction with the French, captured Canton and occupied it till October, 1861.

29. Candahar, in 1839, to place Shah Shujah on the throne of Afghanistan.

Page 17

line 25. Montecuculi, Count (1608-1681), fought for the Austrians in the Thirty Years' War. The dragoons, as described by him, closely resemble the mounted infantry which seem likely to play an important part in modern warfare.

32. Petition of Right, wrung out of Charles I by his third parliament in 1628.

Page 18

line 7. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (1594-1632). He helped the Protestants of Germany against the Catholic League.

11. Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567-1625). He succeeded his father, William the Silent, as Stadtholder of Holland, and completed the deliverance of the United Provinces from Spain.

Page 19

line 13. The whole charge of the army is now about thirty million pounds a year.

25. a Mutiny Bill was first passed in 1689; it gave power to try military offences by court-martial, thus making it possible to maintain effective discipline in the army. It was at first passed for six months only, and has since been renewed every year; the object being to ensure that Parliament shall be called together every year. (See chap. xi of Macaulay's *History*.)

Page 20

line 15. Their native prince, Charles II.

21. THE NAVY (pages 20-28). It is no doubt true, as stated here, that much of the money voted for the navy was spent on unworthy objects, and that there was much neglect and corruption, especially towards the end of the reign. But there is another side to the matter, upon which Macaulay does not touch, and which his references to Tangier suggest that he did not appreciate. The sale of Dunkirk and the fortification of Tangier were part of a definite and far-sighted policy to give England a hold upon the Mediterranean which would greatly strengthen her influence among the nations of Europe. The Commons, however, either did not understand or did not sympathize with this policy, and in 1680 they refused to vote supplies for the maintenance of Tangier unless the king would give his assent to the Exclusion Bill (see note on page 58, l. 23). Thus he would not do, and a few years later Tangier was abandoned. (See note on page 16, l. 22, and work cited there.)

It must also be borne in mind that while the navy of Macaulay's day did not differ essentially from the navy of the Commonwealth, the navy of to-day, with its ironclads driven by steam power, its quick-firing guns and heavy projectiles, is an altogether new thing. A single first-class cruiser of the present day could in the course of a few hours sink the whole British fleet of Macaulay's time without coming within range of any return fire; and even if it gave them the opportunity, the guns of that fleet could do little more than scratch the paint off its sides.

Page 21

line 7. Blake, Robert (1599-1657), the greatest English admiral next to Nelson. Among other victories he had defeated Van Tromp in 1653, and the Spaniards in 1657.

13. Danby, see note on page 11, l. 14.

16. six hundred thousand pounds would not pay for a single battle-ship of modern times. The largest cost about a million pounds.

33. Pepys, Samuel (1633-1703), was Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty. His *Diary*, which runs from 1st Jan., 1660, to 29th May, 1669, gives a vivid

picture of the life of the time, and shows how the navy was neglected.

Page 23

This paragraph affords a good example of the way in which Macaulay's wide reading and wonderful memory enabled him to bring up a host of particular instances to confirm a general statement. The instances are given in chronological order, and cover a range of more than two thousand years.

7. Cimon (d. 449 B.C.) was an Athenian commander who fought against the Persians by land and sea. He lived in the time of Pericles.

Lysander (d. 395 B.C.) fought on the Spartan side in the Peloponnesian war, and took Athens.

Pompey (106-48 B.C.), the great rival of Cæsar, cleared the Mediterranean of pirates and conquered Mithridates in Asia Minor.

Agrippa (63-12 B.C.) conducted many of the wars of Octavius Cæsar (the emperor Augustus).

11. Flodden, in Northumberland. Early in the reign of Henry VIII the Scots invaded England, but they were defeated at this place, and their king, James IV, was killed (9th Sept., 1513).

12. Jarnac, in France, south of the Loire, where the Huguenots were defeated by the Catholics in 1569.

13. At Moncontour, in the same year, and in the same part of France, the Huguenots were again defeated.

14. John of Austria (1547-1578) fought for Philip II of Spain, his half-brother, against the Turks. He defeated them in the naval battle of Lepanto, on the Gulf of Corinth, 1571.

15. Lord Howard (1536-1624) was made Lord High Admiral in 1585, and three years later defeated the Spanish Armada.

18. Raleigh, Sir Walter (1552-1618), the famous courtier of Queen Elizabeth.

21. Blake, see note on page 21, l. 7.

26. Rupert, Prince (1619-1682), took a prominent part in the Civil War, on the side of his uncle Charles I.

Monk, George (1608-1670), governed Scotland under Cromwell, and helped to bring about the Restoration.

Page 25

line 13. bullion, gold or silver of standard purity, usually in bars or ingots.

16. Barbary, the states in the North of Africa, not including Egypt.

24. Sallee rover: Sallee is a port on the west coast of Morocco; it was a famous haunt of pirates. In *Robinson Crusoe* (chap. ii) we read: "Our ship making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those Islands and the African shore, was surprised in the gray of the morning by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make . . . [After a severe fight] we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors."

Page 26

line 12. Whitehall Stairs, one of the numerous landing-places on the banks of the Thames. In those days, it will be remembered, the Thames was the chief highway of London. The Palace of Whitehall was near to Westminster Abbey.

31. Versailles, see note on page 11, line 33.

32. harem, properly means the part of a Mohammedan dwelling-house set apart for the women.

Page 27

line 7. Sir Christopher Mings (more correctly, Myngs: 1625-1666) led the van on the fourth day of the battle off the North Foreland (1-4 June, 1666), and was mortally wounded.

12. Sir John Narborough (1640-1688) fought with success against the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers.

14. Sir Cloudesley Shovel (1650-1707) took part in the capture of Gibraltar (1704). After a very active career his vessel was wrecked off the Scilly Islands, and he was drowned. He spelt his Christian name Clowdisley.

Though Macaulay's statement about the relations of these three famous seamen is true in spirit, recent researches have thrown some doubt upon its strict accuracy. Sir John Narborough made more than one voyage to the coast of Guinea and to St. Helena before he sailed with Myngs. Shovel first went to sea with Myngs at the age of fourteen, and it was *only after the death of Myngs that he* joined Narborough. They all came from the county of Norfolk, and were probably related to one another.

30. Smollett, Tobias (1721-1771), one of our early novelists, fourteen years younger than Fielding. His sketches of a sailor's life are drawn from personal experience, for he acted as a naval surgeon in 1741.

31. Lieutenant Bowling is one of the characters in *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), and Commodore Trunnion appears in *Peregrine Pickle* (1751).

Page 28

line 3. A good example of antithesis.

Page 29

line 1. Castilian *harquebusses*, Spanish muskets. The word *harquebus* literally means "hook-gun". The early fire-arms were cast with a hook, by means of which they were fastened to their support or "carriage"; but the name was afterwards used to mean any kind of portable firearm. Dutch *haakbus*.

12. Non-effective charge, for pensions and similar payments.

26. Greenwich Hospital, founded in 1692 by Queen Mary as a home for pensioned seamen. In 1873 it was converted into a college for the instruction of officers in the Royal Navy.

27. Chelsea Hospital is still a home for pensioned soldiers.

Page 30

line 15. headboroughs, parish officers whose duties were the same as those of our modern petty or parish constable.

21. Ambassador, the highest rank in the diplomatic service. The ambassador is regarded as the personal representative of his sovereign at a foreign court, and as such has the right of access to the sovereign at that court. There are now eight ambassadors, representing the British sovereign at Berlin, Constantinople, Madrid, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Washington respectively.

22. Turkey Company, one of the numerous trading companies which had received special privileges from the crown. The East India Company was the most famous of them.

23. Versailles, see note on page 11, l. 33.

24. an Envoy is of lower rank than an ambassador, and is regarded as the agent, but not the personal representative, of his sovereign.

Page 32

line 16. Groom of the Stole, the chief of the Lords of the Bedchamber, who are officers of the Royal Household in personal attendance upon the king.

21. white staff, the sign of the office of Lord High Treasurer.

great seal, formerly held by the Lord Keeper, now by the Lord Chancellor.

22. tidewaiter, a custom-house officer who saw that duty was paid when goods were landed.

gauger, an excise officer, whose duty was to gauge, or measure the contents of casks containing dutiable liquor.

25. overt, open: participle of the French verb *ouvrir* (now *ouvrir*), to open.

Page 33

line 9. Clarendon, Earl of (1608-1674), ruled England during the first seven years of Charles II's reign.

10. Arlington and Lauderdale were members of what is often called the Cabal ministry (see note on page 11, l. 14).

Danby, see note on page 11, l. 14.

12. Dunkirk House. The town of Dunkirk was sold to Louis XIV of France in November, 1662, and it was the popular belief that Clarendon had been bribed by Louis to agree to the sale. His house was nicknamed accordingly. See also page 82, l. 10.

14. Euston Hall, in Suffolk, was the country seat of the Earl of Arlington (l. 10 above). Evelyn in his *Diary* (see note on page 105, l. 29) tells us of a visit that he paid to the earl in August and September, 1677. "My Lord is given to no expensive vice but building," he writes, "and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. . . . The orange garden is very fine, and leads into the green-house, at the end of which is a hall to eat in, and the conservatory, some hundred feet long, adorned with maps, as the other side is with the heads of Cæsars, ill cut in alabaster." Arlington's only daughter married the Duke of Grafton, son of Lady Castlemaine, one of the women on whom Charles lavished the nation's money, and the house still belongs to their descendants.

15. Ham, a fine old mansion on the south side of the Thames, opposite Twickenham. It was the residence of the Earl of Lauderdale (l. 10 above). Evelyn was there in August, 1678. He says that the house was "furnished like a great Prince's; the parterres, flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountains, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needs be admirable".

Page 34

line 20. Grand Duke Cosmo, of Tuscany, visited England in 1669.

Page 35

line 14. Oliver St. John (1598-1673) was related by marriage to Cromwell. He took a prominent part in the work of the Long Parliament, helped to carry the Bill for Strafford's attainder, and was authorized to act as Attorney General, the holder of that office having joined the king.

15. Strafford, Earl of (1593-1641), ruled Ireland under Charles I. He was condemned by the Long Parliament and executed.

Page 36

line 3. Whittlebury, in Northamptonshire.

Needwood Forest, in the east of Staffordshire.

marten, an animal similar to the weasel.

4. Cranbourne Chase, formerly a forest, on the borders of Wiltshire and Dorset.

9. bustard (lit. a slow bird, from Lat. *avis tarda*), the largest bird found in Europe; it may weigh as much as thirty pounds. The pauw, found in South Africa, is a kind of bustard.

Page 38

line 3. Northumberland Household Book, a book containing the records of the household expenses of the Duke of Northumberland of that time.

11. Martinmas, St. Martin's day, 11th November.

19. jennet, a small Spanish horse. The word in Spanish originally meant a light horseman, but in French and English was transferred from the horseman to his horse.

30. Walcheren, an island on the coast of Holland.

31. Childers, otherwise known as Flying Childers, was a famous racehorse, who beat every other horse of his time with ease. He is recorded to have run a quarter of a mile in a quarter of a minute. He was foaled in 1715.

Eclipse, another famous racehorse, foaled in 1764, during an eclipse of the sun. He was considered slightly inferior in speed to Flying Childers for short distances, but would have beaten him in a long distance.

Page 39

line 4. barbs, horses, from the name Barbary, whence valuable horses were imported.

18. Tyrian sails, ships of the Phœnicians, Tyre being their chief city.

19. pillars of Hercules, two rocks at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, now called Gibraltar and Ceuta. The legend is that they were once united, but were torn asunder by Hercules to let in the ocean.

Page 40

line 11. scorbutic complaint, *i.e.* scurvy.

pulmonary, affecting the lungs (Lat. *pulmones*, the lungs).

(B 167)

N

Page 41

line 5. a million of tons, about eight million tons of pig-iron are now produced annually in Great Britain.

25. thirty millions of tons (coal). The amount has now reached two hundred and twenty millions of tons.

Page 42

line 32. the Revolution, in 1688, when James II ceased to be king.

Page 43

line 6. were in the Commissions of Peace and Lieutenancy; held the position of (honorary) Magistrate (Justice of the Peace) or Deputy Lieutenant of a County. See page 14.

14. a Mittimus, the warrant sent by a Justice of the Peace to the keeper of a jail, instructing him to keep the person named in it as a prisoner.

Page 44

line 34. stillroom, a housekeeper's room in a mansion, where home-made wine is distilled, and articles for the table, such as preserves, are stored.

Page 45

line 1. marigolds: the flowers were dried and used in soups, and also for medicinal purposes.

13. Talbot, a famous English family, whose ancestor is named in the Domesday Book. At various times members of the family have played a prominent part in public affairs. See, for instance, Shakespeare's *Henry VI*.

Howard, another historic family, which has held the dukedom of Norfolk since the fifteenth century.

16. supporters, in a coat of arms, the figures placed on each side of a shield, as, for example, the lion and unicorn on the royal arms. They indicate that the person who uses them is the head of an important family.

30. Edgehill, the first battle of the Civil War, 1642.

31. Naseby, where Charles I was decisively beaten, 1645.

32. Fairfax, Thomas (1612-1671), a distinguished general on the Parliamentary side.

33. petard, a kind of bomb made of iron, and filled with powder and bullets. It was fastened to a plank provided with hooks, was exploded by a slow match, and was used for blowing in gates.

34. holsters, leather cases for pistols used by horsemen.

35. Goring, George (1608-1657), fought on the Royalist side at Marston Moor and elsewhere.

Lunsford, Sir Thomas (about 1610-1653), a colonel in the Royalist army, who was made prisoner at Edgehill.

Page 46

line 34. Whitehall, the palace of Charles II; see note on page 26, l. 12.

Page 47

line 12. Nell Gwynn (1650-1687), from being an orange-seller at Drury Lane Theatre, became an actress, and afterwards one of the king's favourites.

Madam Carwell, the popular corruption of the name of Louise de Keroualle (or Querouaille). She came over from France in 1670 with the Duchess of Orleans, who was negotiating the first Treaty of Dover. She was made Duchess of Portsmouth, and exercised great influence in political matters. Anthony Hope's novel, *Simon Dale*, gives a vivid picture of the part played by these two women in the affairs of the time.

22. deserted him, in 1680, when the Exclusion Bill, to prevent James, Duke of York, from succeeding Charles, was being strongly pressed. The Earl of Essex left the Treasury and threw his weight on the side of the Exclusionists. Cavendish and Russell withdrew from the Council, and Temple soon afterwards retired to his country house.

Page 48

line 5. THE CLERGY (pages 48-58). This account of the clergy is the most controversial part of the chapter, and has been severely criticised. It must not be forgotten that Macaulay himself limits the dark side of the picture to the *rural* clergy, and that he lays equal stress upon the other side—the learning and ability of the clergy in the towns (see pages 54-57). This is beyond dispute. The question remains, how far is his account of the country clergy supported by trustworthy evidence. It has been objected that he turned for information to the light satirical literature of the day, which would be likely to give a distorted view of the facts; but the foot-notes make it clear that he had by no means confined himself to these sources. "It is, however, admitted that there is other evidence far more satisfactory and conclusive of the 'contempt of the clergy', a phrase so incessantly repeated that it almost becomes a stock phrase of the time. Complaints come from the most opposite quarters. Burnet, the low churchman, bewails 'the contempt the clergy are generally fallen into'. . . . High churchmen all take up the same sad tale. Atterbury laments that 'the clergy are made a by-word and a reproach'. . . . Stillingfleet (perhaps the highest

living [contemporary] authority on such a point) declares that 'the contempt of the clergy is too notorious not to be observed'. The evidence as to the smallness of the incomes of many of the clergy is no less decisive. "Henry Wharton affirmed, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, that 'in this nation are some benefices not exceeding the value of £5 per annum, many hundreds not exceeding £20, and some thousands not exceeding £30'; Bishop Burnet, that 'some hundreds of parishes in England pay not £10 a year to their pastors, and perhaps some thousands not £50'. . . . Most of what has been quoted relates to the beneficed clergy, but when we turn to the unbeneficed, from the stipendiary curate at £30 a year to the hack chaplain at 10s. a month, the matter is certainly not mended" (Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 1660-1714. It is only fair to say, however, that Canon Overton does not accept Macaulay's account as altogether a correct one). Macaulay appears to have overstated the matter when he implies that all the country clergy were of this type (see note on page 55, l. 31). There were among them more men of education and refinement than this description would lead us to suppose, but the majority were very much as he has stated.

11. tithe, a tax on the produce of the land paid for the support of the clergy. The word means 'a tenth part'.

30. Lord Keeper, one of the great officers of state, whose duties are now practically merged in those of the Lord Chancellor.

31. Master of the Rolls, an important legal officer, whose position at one time carried with it the right to sit in the House of Commons. See note on page 55, l. 24.

Page 49

line 7. tonsure, the shaving of a part of the head, a sign that the person is a monk or priest.

9. Scroops: Richard Scrope (the more correct spelling) was Archbishop of York in the reign of Henry IV; he was executed for joining a conspiracy against the king.

Nevilles: Alexander Neville was Archbishop of York in the reign of Richard II, and was one of his chief advisers.

10. Bouchiers: Henry Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454 to 1486, held the post of Chancellor, and was concerned in the struggle between the parties of York and Lancaster.

Stafford, John, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1443, and was a prominent statesman of the time. He did much to quiet the country after Jack Cade's rebellion.

Pole, Reginald (1500-1558), was Archbishop of Canterbury, and held the rank of cardinal. He was a leading adviser of Queen Mary.

22. William of Wykeham (1324-1404), a great churchman who held various offices of state under Edward III. He founded Winchester School and New College, Oxford.

23. William of Waynflete (d. 1486), Bishop of Winchester, was Chancellor under Henry VI. He founded Magdalene College, Oxford.

29. William Cecil, the great statesman of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

30. Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper under Elizabeth; father of Francis Bacon, the philosopher.

Roger Ascham, a great classical scholar, acted as secretary to Mary and Elizabeth.

31. Walter Mildmay (1520-1589) held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State under Queen Elizabeth.

Page 50

line 9. princes of the hierarchy, the leading bishops. The hierarchy is the general body of clergy organized according to their successive ranks.

10. Parker, Matthew (1504-1575), was Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Elizabeth.

Grindal, Edmund (1519-1583), succeeded Parker as Archbishop.

11. Wolsey, Thomas (1471-1530), was Archbishop of York, and held many other offices in church and state. He had been dead twenty-nine years when Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Page 51

line 2. Laud, William (1573-1645), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Charles I.

22. Levite: among the Israelites the priesthood was restricted to the tribe of Levi.

28. shovelboard, a game played by pushing pieces of money along a board.

Page 52

line 10. simony, the purchasing of a position in the church; so named from Simon Magus, whose story is told in *Acts*, viii, 9-24.

12. cure, a clergyman's sphere of work: the same as living, in l. 8.

27. Clarendon, see note on page 33, l. 9. He was responsible for the Five Mile Act, the Conventicle Act (see page 57, ll. 22, 23), and other measures directed against the Puritans, and in favour of the Church of England.

Page 54

line 1. cassock, the long close-fitting frock or tunic worn by clergymen.

2. glebe, land which is held as part of the revenue of a clergyman's living. (Lat. *gleba*, soil.)

11. advowson, the right of appointing a clergyman to a living; the selling of this right under certain circumstances was the offence referred to as Simony (see note on page 52, l. 10). The word originally meant the obligation to act as the defender or advocate of the living (Lat. *advocationem*).

26. parts, natural abilities, talents above the ordinary, as in the phrase 'a man of parts'.

Page 55

line 11. Barrow, Isaac (1630-1677), one of the most learned men of his time, especially famous as a preacher. His sermons were long—one of them lasted for three hours and a half—but were remarkable for their directness and force. He was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

12. Pearson, John (1613-1686), Bishop of Chester, was the author of the *Exposition of the Creed*, which is still a standard work.

13. Cudworth, Ralph (1617-1688), the chief of the group known as the "Cambridge Platonists".

Henry More (1614-1687), became a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and lived there till his death. He belonged to the same group as Cudworth.

14. South, Robert (1633-1716), a famous preacher, whose sermons were noted for their humour and sarcasm.

Pococke, Edmund (1604-1691), a man whose learning (especially in Arabic and Hebrew) was "the admiration of Europe".

Jane, William (1645-1707), was made Dean of Gloucester in 1685.

Aldrich, Henry (1647-1710), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was noted as an architect, and a composer, and as the author of a famous work on Logic.

15. Prideaux, Humphrey (1648-1724), was a canon of Norwich at this time, and afterwards became dean. He wrote among other things a *Life of Mahomet*.

courage to preach a sermon before Charles II in 1667 on the text "Fools make a mock at sin", and the sermon was printed by the king's command. Pepys in his *Diary*, for 23rd April, 1665, notes that Stillingfleet is regarded by the highest authorities of the Church as "the ablest young man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles".

25. Patrick, Simon (1626-1707), was another noted preacher, but had left London somewhat before this time. He was made Dean of Peterborough in 1678, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

26. Fowler, Edward (1622-1714), was the first of the London clergy to refuse to read the Declaration of Indulgence as ordered by James II (see Macaulay, *Hist.* chap. viii). He became Bishop of Gloucester.

27. Sharp, John (1644-1714), a very plain-speaking and straightforward man. He preached a notable sermon against Romanism in 1686, just after he had been appointed chaplain to the king, and gave great offence by doing so. He was appointed Archbishop of York by William III.

Tenison, Thomas (1634-1715), also opposed the Romanizing tendencies of the court. He succeeded Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury.

28. Sprat, Thomas (1635-1713), was noted as an upholder of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He was made Bishop of Rochester in 1684.

Beveridge, William (1638-1707), "had a way", says a contemporary, "of touching the consciences of his hearers that seemed to revive the spirit of the Apostolic age". He became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704.

31. almost the only important theological works, &c. If this means works which are regarded as important at the present day it is probably true, but not fair; for the same test would rule out most of the eminent men among the clergy who have in the preceding sentences been held up for our admiration. If, however, it means works which in their own time were regarded as important, it is not true; some of those who have already been named by Macaulay—Beveridge and Patrick for example—did notable work before they left their rural parsonages for London, and among others there were Joseph Bingham, who wrote his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* at Headbournworthy and at Havant in Hampshire, and Lancelot Addison, father of the great essayist, who, while rector of Milston, wrote what Macaulay himself describes as "An interesting volume on the Polity and Religion of Barbary, and another on the Hebrew Customs and the State of Rabbinical Learning" (*Essay on Addison*, 1843). It is true that the number of cultured men among the country clergy was very small, but Macaulay has overstated his point.

33. George Bull (1634-1710) was in 1685 transferred from the rectory of Sirdington, Cirencester, to that of Avening, Stroud. His work entitled *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ* "was recognized at once as a great book, and the judgment of England was confirmed by that of foreign nations and of posterity" (W. H. Hutton).

Page 56

line 9. Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679), author of *Leviathan*, a book which was condemned by Parliament in 1666 on account of its attitude towards religion. The writings of Hobbes have had a considerable influence on the course of philosophical thought.

Bossuet, Jacques (1627-1701), a famous French preacher at the court of Louis XIV, whose *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes* was published in 1688.

13. Buckingham, see note on page 134, l. 10.

17. Halifax, Marquis of (1633-1695), a prominent statesman of the time, who, by a very able speech, induced the House of Lords to throw out the Exclusion Bill in 1680. He was the chief of the group known as the Trimmers. See note on page 118, l. 4.

Page 57

line 18. indefeasible hereditary right. "It was gravely maintained that the Supreme Being regarded hereditary monarchy, as opposed to other forms of government, with peculiar favour; that the rule of succession in order of primogeniture was a divine institution, anterior to the Christian, and even to the Mosaic dispensation; that no human power, not even that of the whole legislature . . . could deprive a legitimate prince of his rights" (Macaulay, *Hist.* chap. i). The duty of passive obedience on the part of subjects to their sovereign had been taught in the reign of Henry VIII as a necessary consequence of the fifth commandment. One of the most prominent advocates of these views was Sir Robert Filmer (d. 1653), whose treatise *Patriarcha* was published in 1680.

19. non-resistance, the idea that resistance to the crown is not justifiable under any circumstances whatever. A Bill was introduced in 1675 requiring acceptance of this doctrine on the part of all members of parliament, but it did not become law.

22. Five Mile Act (1665) forbade any Non-conforming clergyman to come within five miles of any town where he had preached, or to act as a tutor or schoolmaster.

23. Conventicle Act (1664) imposed penalties upon people who assembled for worship which was not according to the forms of the Church of England.

Page 58

line 5. Order of St. Francis of Assisi, founded in 1208; a very powerful religious order in the Roman Catholic Church.

21. the Oxford Parliament, the fifth and last parliament of Charles II's reign. It was summoned to meet at Oxford to avoid the influence of London, which was against the king. It sat from the 21st to 28th March, 1681.

23. the Exclusionists, those who wished to shut out James, brother of Charles II, from the throne, because he was a Roman Catholic.

Page 59

line 15. Rye House Plot (1683), formed by a few of the extreme Whigs to murder the king and his brother.

proscription of the Whig leaders. Some of the prominent Whigs, though not involved in this plot, had been discussing how they might compel the king to call Parliament together again. Their plans were discovered and they were arrested. Essex committed suicide in prison, Russell and Algernon Sydney were executed.

Page 60

line 27. plantations, the colonies on the east coast of America. Bacon calls the essay (No. 33) in which he discusses colonization, *Of Plantations*.

35. crimping: by a 'crimp' is usually meant an agent for supplying ships with sailors. The sailors were decoyed into some public-house or low lodging-house, and when they were fleeced of their money had no resource but to go to sea again, and the crimp obligingly found them a ship. The 'crimping' referred to here was the same in principle.

Page 61

line 11. The population of Bristol is now over three hundred thousand.

15. the chief manufacture, the weaving of worsted fabrics.

21. Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), a physician, famous as the author of *Religio Medici* and other works.

the Royal Society, see note on page 133, l. 1.

Page 62

line 6. Arundel . . . marbles, a fine collection of sculptures, some of them dating back to the third century B.C., which were brought from Smyrna by the Earl of Arundel, and presented to the University of Oxford by his grandson in 1667.

10. Twelfth Night, the twelfth after Christmas, formerly an occasion of much ceremony.

33. javelins, men who carried spears or pikes, and acted as an escort to the judges at the assizes.

Page 63

line 12. closes, see note on page 55, l. 15.

15. Nevilles. The chief of this family was the Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, who fought in the Wars of the Roses.

De Veres. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was a favourite of Richard II.

27. the Marches of Wales, the districts lying on the border between England and Wales. March=mark, a boundary.

Page 65

line 3. Whitney, Eli (1765-1825), an American who invented a machine by which the cotton fibre could be separated from the seed.

5. Arkwright, Sir Richard (1732-1792), a poor barber who invented a machine for spinning cotton, and made a fortune of half a million.

11. far surpasses . . . Berlin, &c. This statement is not correct as regards Berlin. Macaulay, it will be remembered, was writing in 1848. According to the census of 1851 the population of Manchester (with Salford) was nearly 406,000. In the following year the population of Berlin was 433,000, so the cities were about equal in this respect. At the present time the population of Berlin is more than three times that of Manchester.

As regards Madrid and Lisbon the statement is correct for the time when Macaulay was writing, but at the present day Madrid has about the same population as Manchester, while Lisbon is still far behind.

30. hearth money, see note on page 5, l. 16.

Page 66

line 5. The population of Leeds is now more than four hundred thousand.

10. whittles, knives; those whose rank did not entitle them to wear a sword used to carry a 'whittle'.

12. Chaucer, in describing the miller who lived at Trumpington, near Cambridge, says: "A Sheffield thwitel baar he in his hose" (*The Reeve's Tale*, written about 1385). But the Miller carried a sword, a cutlass, and a little dagger as well.

17. court leet, a court held in a township for the election of certain officers and the trial of minor offences.

Page 67

line 11. Bokhara, a town of considerable commercial importance about 500 miles east of the Caspian Sea.

22. Baskerville, John (1706-1775), was a noted type-founder and printer. The types which he produced have scarcely been surpassed since his day. He printed editions of various standard authors, such as Milton, Addison, &c., copies of which are still highly valued.

26. Samuel Johnson (1709-1783), the author of *Rasselas* and the compiler of the famous Dictionary.

Page 68

line 15. the great reduction of the duty, the institution of Penny Postage, which was a comparatively recent thing when Macaulay wrote this chapter, having come into force on Jan. 10, 1840.

21. a rival city, Birkenhead.

25. the sugar colonies, the West Indies.

31. a single modern Indiaman. This remark shows the immense advance that has been made in ship-building since Macaulay's time. Many of the ocean liners of the present day range from eight to twelve thousand tons. The vessel in which he came home from India in 1838, and which he describes as "the most celebrated of the huge floating hotels which run between London and Calcutta", was of 750 tons. (See Appendix I.)

Page 70

line 32. wheatears, small birds that used to be snared in autumn and sent in large numbers to the market; they are now more scarce.

Page 71

line 7. basset, a card-game then somewhat new, for it had been introduced into France from Italy in 1674, and was afterwards brought over to England.

8. morris dance, a rustic dance used especially at Whitsuntide and on May Day. Morris=Moorish, the dance having been brought into Spain by the Moors.

13. Saint Charles the Martyr, Charles I, executed in 1649.

24. Ratcliffe Highway, a disreputable quarter in the East End of London.

27. Bramante, Donato (1444-1514), an Italian architect, who planned the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Rome.

28. Palladio, Andrea (1518-1580), is regarded as the founder of modern Italian architecture.

28. Anstey, Christopher (1724-1805), author of the *New Bath Guide*, a humorous poem which touches off in a bright, satirical way the fashions and follies of the life in that city. It was published in 1766 and was very popular.

Smollett, see note on page 27, l. 30. His story, *Humphrey Clinker*, published in 1771, reproduces some of the characters and incidents of the *New Bath Guide*.

29. Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay, 1752-1840) was a favourite with Dr. Johnson. Her novel, *Evelina*, was published when she was only twenty-six, and was a great success.

Jane Austen (1775-1817), one of our greatest English novelists. The scene of *Northanger Abbey*, and also of *Persuasion*, lies partly in Bath.

Page 72

line 20. freestone, any common sandstone or limestone that can be cut freely with the mason's chisel.

Page 73

line 31. steam vessels. At the time when Macaulay was writing, the number of steamships was very small. The steam mail service between England and America had been running for only eight years.

Page 74

line 12. artificial lakes, the London Docks.

26. its suburb, see note on page 3, l. 33.

Page 75

line 1. a single line, London Bridge. The houses were cleared away about 1758, and a new bridge (the present one) was built in 1831. The bridge of which Macaulay speaks was the only one over the Thames at London until 1738, when Westminster Bridge was built. An excellent picture of the old bridge is to be found in the illustrated edition of Green's *Short History of the English People*.

4. Dahomy, a country on the west of Africa, where human victims used to be slaughtered in large numbers at religious and state festivals.

scores of mouldering heads. The last head placed on London Bridge was that of Thomas Venner, who headed a conspiracy of Fifth Monarchy men (see note on page 16, l. 13) and was executed on January 19, 1661. The heads were placed at the south entrance to the bridge.

31. Wren, Sir Christopher (1632-1723), an architect of great genius, to whom the Fire of London brought a great opportunity.

He designed some fifty churches in or near London, but his most notable work was the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, in which he is buried. Over his tomb is the inscription:

"Si monumentum requiris, circumspice".

See also page 138, l. 10.

Page 76

line 16. Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street: these streets are mentioned as being especially associated with banking and share market operations. A familiar name for the Bank of England is "The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street".

Page 77

line 11. Sir Robert Clayton, a wealthy merchant who became Lord Mayor of London, and sat in Parliament as a representative of the City.

14. Sir Dudley North, one of the leading merchants of the Turkey Company, who made a large fortune in Constantinople, and on his return became sheriff of London and commissioner of customs. (See Macaulay's *History*, chaps. iv, xv, xx.)

28. the age of Pericles, the fifth century B.C., when Greek literature and art were at their best.

Page 78

line 13. Temple Bar was the western boundary of the city. Beyond it, along the Strand, were several mansions of noblemen. It was removed in 1879, and the site is marked by a griffin.

Page 79

line 16. Lord Lieutenants, see note on page 14, l. 3.

Page 80

lines 3-7. A good example of antithesis.

20. Inigo Jones (1573-1652), the most famous English architect of his time. He studied in Italy, and is sometimes called "the English Palladio" (see note on page 71, l. 28).

Page 81

line 30. an edifice more magnificent still. The British Museum, which was completed in the year before Macaulay's *History* was published.

Page 82

line 10. Dunkirk House, see note on page 33, l. 12.

Page 83

line 23. mumper, a beggar.

Page 85

line 6. kennel, the gutter which carries off the drainage of the street. It is etymologically the same word as *canal* and *channel* (Lat. *canalem*) and quite distinct from 'kennel', a dog's house, which is from Lat. *canis*.

9. Montague House, where the British Museum now stands. (See page 81.) The field behind it, called the Field of the Forty Footsteps, was the fashionable place for duels.

33. sedan chair, a kind of box in which a single person sat, and which was carried on poles by two men. They remained in use in London till 1830, and in other towns to a later date.

Page 86

line 19. police, organization, management, system of government. The word is more generally used now in the sense of *police force*, the body of men to whom the preservation of order is entrusted, but the sense in which Macaulay uses it is the original meaning (Gk. *πολιτεία*, administration, from *πόλις*, a city). It occurs in the same sense on page 136, l. 3; page 149, l. 18; and page 153, l. 19.

26. Michaelmas to Lady Day, 29th September to 25th March.

Page 87

line 4. La Hogue, a great naval battle fought in 1692, when the English and Dutch fleets defeated the French. Macaulay gives a vivid description of the battle in chap. xviii of his *History*.

Blenheim, in Austria, where Marlborough won his great victory in 1704.

12. Archimedes (*circa* 287-212 B.C.), the most celebrated mathematician of ancient times. He lived at Syracuse, and is credited with a number of mechanical inventions.

30. Carmelite Friars, an order founded in 1156; they lived on Mount Carmel, but, being driven out by the Saracens, became a mendicant order of friars.

Page 88

line 7. Whitefriars: Scott, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, gives a picture of life in this quarter of London, for which the common name was 'Alcatraz'.

21. Somers, Lord John (1652-1716), was one of the counsel for the Seven Bishops in the famous trial of 1688. He afterwards became Lord Chancellor.

22. Tillotson, see note on page 55, l. 23.
 24. Royal Society, see note on page 133, l. 1.
 25. Isaac Newton, see note on page 137, l. 12.

Page 89

line 8. dominion of a Cornish borough, purchasing so much property in some village as would secure control of the parliamentary election. This condition of things was altered by the Reform Bill of 1832.

13. Walpole, Sir Robert (1676-1745), the great Whig Prime Minister in the reigns of George I and George II.

Pelham, Henry (1696-1754), became Prime Minister soon after Walpole's retirement, and held that position for ten years.

Page 90

line 21. levee means the time or the act of getting up, and hence came to mean a morning reception held by a sovereign or nobleman (past part. French verb, *lever*, to raise).

27. hazard, a game played with dice.

29. flight from Worcester, after Cromwell's victory in 1651.

Page 91

line 3. Marvel, Andrew (1621-1678), was Milton's assistant when he held the post of Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth. He is not quite a typical example of the 'austere republican', for his sympathies were by no means entirely with the opponents of the monarchy.

11. Whitehall, see note on page 46, l. 34.

staple: the word is used here in its old sense of a market, a fixed centre for the distribution of merchandise; it may now mean the chief commodity produced in a district, or the main ingredient in anything, but it is more frequently used as an adjective. The original meaning, from which the others are all derived, is that of a prop or support, and this is still one of the commonest uses of the word. Trench, in his *Select Glossary*, says: "A curious change has come over this word; we should now say, 'Cotton is the great staple, i.e. the established merchandise, of Manchester'; our ancestors would have reversed this and said, 'Manchester is the great staple, or established mart, of cotton'."

18. John Sobiesky (1624-1696), King of Poland. He had inflicted a severe defeat upon the Turks so recently as 1683. (See note on page 14, l. 19.)

19. whether the Doge of Genoa was really at Paris: in May, 1684, a French fleet had appeared before Genoa, bearing certain demands from Louis XIV of France. The city refused to comply with the demands, and was consequently subjected to a bombardment lasting for several days. The fleet then sailed away, leaving the Genoese to think the matter over. They were given to understand that some of their senators would be required to attend in person at Versailles before the anger of the French monarch could be appeased. For some time Europe looked on, wondering whether Genoa would submit to this humiliation, but at length, in May, 1686, the Doge himself, accompanied by four of the senators, came to the French court and made his submission. It was the more marked from the fact that the laws of Genoa forbade her chief magistrate to leave the city. See Ranke, *Französische Geschichte* (B. iii, S. 357). An account differing in some details from that of Ranke is given in the *Histoire Générale* of Lavissee and Rambaud (T. vi, p. 526). It is there added that, after the various wonders of Versailles had been shown to the Doge, Louis asked him what of all that he had seen astonished him most. He replied that he was most amazed to see himself there.

Page 93

line 9. the Grecian coffee-house was in the Strand, and was a favourite resort of the lawyers. It is mentioned in the first number of the *Spectator* (March 1st, 1711).

the Rainbow, in Fleet Street, was opened about 1656, and was among the first coffee-houses established in London. It is mentioned in No. 16 of the *Spectator*. The usual time for dinner was one o'clock, and when this meal was over, the politicians and the literary men used to go to their coffee-houses.

22. Lord Foppington, one of the principal characters in Sir John Vanbrugh's play, *The Relapse*, which was brought out at Drury Lane in December, 1696, and became very popular. One of his speeches will serve as a specimen of the dialect: "Naw is it not impassible far me to penetrate what species of fally it is thou art driving at".

Page 94

line 4. Will's, on the north side of Russell Street, at the end of Bow Street. It is spoken of in No. 1 of the *Spectator* as being a favourite resort of politicians.

7. the unities of place and time, rules of the drama as observed by the Greek tragedians, in which it is laid down that the action of a play shall not be transferred from one place to another, and shall deal with events occupying not more than twenty-four hours. Shakespeare usually disregards the unities, but has chosen to observe them in the *Tempest*.

8. Perrault, Charles (1628-1703), chiefly famous for his charming fairy tales, was the author of a poem *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, which started the famous controversy about the relative merits of ancient and modern writers. Perrault took the side of the moderns.

9. Boileau, Nicolas (1636-1711), a great French critic, who handled Perrault's poem rather severely, and was regarded as the leader of the opposing party in the controversy that followed.

11. *Venice Preserved*, by Thomas Otway. It was produced in 1682, and is one of the finest dramas in the English language, outside the pages of Shakespeare.

21. Racine, Jean (1639-1699), one of the greatest of French dramatists, a close friend of Boileau (see l. 9), and for a time of Molière.

Bossu, René le (1631-1680), an eminent French critic.

29. Garraway's Coffee House was in Change Alley, Cornhill; it had a great reputation for sandwiches, sherry, pale ale, and punch.

33. election and reprobation, the doctrine taught by some of the followers of John Calvin, that God has foreordained that certain persons shall be saved and that the rest shall perish.

Page 95

line 2. another great fire: it was popularly believed that the Great Fire of London, which took place in 1666, was the work of the Roman Catholics, but there is no foundation for this charge.

3. silver bullets: it was an old superstition that some people could not be wounded with leaden bullets, since they were protected by a charm which they had obtained from the devil; but this did not render them proof against other metals. So in Scott's *Old Mortality* (chap. xvi): "Many a Whig that day loaded his musket with a dollar cut into slugs, in order that a silver bullet (such was their belief) might bring down the persecutor of the holy kirk [Claverhouse], on whom lead had no power".

15. Kraal of Hottentots: this allusion is probably a reminiscence of Macaulay's visit to the Cape (see Appendix I), at which time the Hottentots were the chief native race settled in the western part of the Colony. The Kaffir tribes were still east of the Fish River.

24. kennel, see note on page 85, l. 6.

27. Moneydroppers, men who imposed upon unsuspecting people by asking them about a piece of money which they pretended to have picked up, and used this as a means of introduction.

28. cart's tail, where they had been tied and whipped. See page 150, l. 29.

Page 96

line 3. Saint James's Park and Palace are in the west of London; Mile-end is in the east.

10. Templars, lawyers belonging to one of the societies known as the Inner and Middle Temple, so called from the fact that the buildings which they use once belonged to the Knights Templars.

19. DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELLING (pages 96-108). It will readily be understood that one of the main causes which prevented the country gentleman from acquiring the polish of the Londoner, and the Londoner from understanding the interests and pursuits of the country gentleman, was that travelling was expensive, uncomfortable, and slow. It is not easy for those who have ready access to a railway, by which in a few hours they can be carried from one end of the country to the other, to realize the slowness and difficulty of travelling when the rate was determined by the speed and endurance of horses, and road-making was of the most primitive description. Those who live in the colonies can form a better idea of what this state of things would be like, but the most backward of our great colonies to-day is far in advance of England as it was in the time of Charles II. It should be borne in mind that in Macaulay's day the railway system of England was still quite young. When he sailed for India in 1834 only two or three short lines had been constructed; the railway from London to Birmingham—the first of the great trunk lines leading from the capital—was opened in 1838, the year in which he returned.

Page 97

line 7. Marquess of Worcester (1601-1667) took the side of the king during the Civil War. He devoted much time to mechanical pursuits, and wrote a book called *A Century of the Names and Stantlings* [short descriptions] *of such Inventions as at present I can call to mind having tried and perfected*. It was published in 1663.

26. the immense trench, the *Languedoc Canal*, or *Canal des deux Mers*, which was finished in 1681, runs from Toulouse to Narbonne, joining the Garonne (and through it the Bay of Biscay) with the Gulf of Lyons. It is, however, not available for ships of over a hundred tons, as it is only 6½ feet deep.

Page 98

line 8. Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) lived in Leeds. He formed a somewhat famous museum of rarities. His *Diary* was published in 1830.

11. Pepys, see note on page 21, l. 33.

32. higgler, a carrier who collected poultry and dairy produce in the country and supplied in exchange small commodities from the shops of the town. From the verb *haggle*.

Page 100

line 2. Petworth, near Chichester in Sussex.

4. hinds, peasants.

29. turnpike, originally meant a turnstile (*pike* meaning perhaps the *spikes* on the cross-bar); hence a gate across a road at a point where toll had to be paid. This method of meeting the cost of repairing the roads was done away with in 1889.

Page 102

line 11. Cotton, Charles (1630-1687), a poet of considerable genius; in 1681 he published a descriptive poem, *The Wonders of the Peak*.

22. Vanbrugh, Sir John (1664-1726), a dramatist and architect. See note on page 93, l. 22.

Page 105

line 29. Evelyn, John (1620-1706), kept a diary, which was found in 1817 in an old clothes-basket. It covers a period of seventy years, and is of great value for a knowledge of the times, for Evelyn took some part in public affairs, and from the time of the Restoration was often at court. He was a prominent member of the Royal Society, and often refers to its meetings in his diary.

Page 106

line 20. Falstaff, in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*.

Page 107

line-6. Farquhar's Boniface: George Farquhar (1678-1707) was one of the most witty of our comic dramatists. Boniface, the landlord, and Gibbet, the highwayman, are two characters in the *Beaux' Stratagem*, which is his best comedy.

21. at the bar and in the cart, when being tried and when being driven to the place of execution.

Page 108

line 8. coranto, a kind of dance, with a running or gliding step. Fr. *courir*, Lat. *currere*, to run.

Page 109

line 3. Our first great poet, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400). The pilgrims in his *Canterbury Tales* are described as meeting at the Tabard Inn on the evening before they set out on their pilgrimage.

22. Walton, Izaak (1593-1683), in the *Compleat Angler*, published in 1653, a very charming book, still a great favourite.

Page 110

line 11. Johnson. See note on page 67, l. 26.

12. Shenstone, William (1714-1763), in some verses written at an inn in Henley, says:

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn".

Page 111

line 1. But cycles and motor-cars have helped to prevent the decay that Macaulay anticipated.

Page 112

line 15. Godfrey's death: Sir Edmond Godfrey was the magistrate before whom Titus Oates made his statement about the Popish Plot (see below, l. 18). He was shortly afterwards found in the fields near Primrose Hill, murdered (1678).

Coleman's papers: Edward Coleman was secretary to the Duchess of York. Letters were found in his possession addressed to the confessor of Louis XIV, asking for help to give "the greatest blow to the Protestant religion it has received since its birth". He was denounced by Oates, tried, and executed.

18. Doctor Titus Oates was the author of the story of the Popish Plot, which caused great excitement in 1678, and resulted in the execution or imprisonment of many leading Roman Catholics.

Page 113

line 7. the gross annual receipts of the Post-Office, not including the Telegraph Department, now amount to more than fifteen million pounds. The number of letters carried in a year (see foot-note) is now more than 2500 millions, besides post-cards, newspapers, book packets, and parcels.

Page 114

line 3. the Exclusion Bill, see note on page 47, l. 22.

21. the Janissaries, soldiers of the Sultan of Turkey.

Page 115

line 11. Covenanters, a sect of Scottish Presbyterians, who were severely persecuted during this reign.

Page 116

line 13. their October ale, so called from the time of brewing. Steele, in the *Tatler* (1709), speaks of the "Hours he spent . . . in swelling himself with October".

Page 117

line 30. Newgate, a famous London prison dating back to the time of King John. It has recently been demolished.

Page 118

line 4. Trimmers, the more moderate politicians. The name was given to a group of men who refused to join either the Whig or the Tory party. Their chief was the Marquis of Halifax. See note on page 56, l. 17.

17. Paternoster Row, a narrow street in London (near St. Paul's Cathedral), once the centre of publishing, and where some of the leading publishers still have their offices and warehouses.

20. has already been remarked, see page 54, l. 14.

26. *Hudibras*, a poem by Samuel Butler. It is a satire upon the Puritans which became very popular in a short time, and was much talked of and quoted at court. The first part was published in 1662, the second in the following year, and the third in 1678. Pepys (see page 21, l. 33), speaking of one of his frequent visits to his bookseller, says: "I at last chose Dr. Fuller's *Worthys* . . . and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies" (*Diary*, Dec. 10, 1663).

Baker's Chronicle, a not very accurate account of English history entitled *A Chronicle of the Kings of England from the time of the Romans' Government unto the death of King James*. It was written by Sir Richard Baker while he was confined in the Fleet Prison, and was published in 1643. We read in the *Spectator* (March 18, 1712) that Sir Roger de Coverley "had been very busy all last summer upon Baker's *Chronicle*, which he has quoted several times in his disputes with Sir Andrew Freeport, since his last coming to Town". It is now almost forgotten.

Tarlton's Jests. Tarlton was a famous clown of Queen Elizabeth's time. The book is a collection of witty sayings and practical jokes gathered from many sources, and Tarlton's name was used to make it popular, but he was in no sense the author of it.

27. *Seven Champions of Christendom*, a romance of chivalry,

consisting of stories of the same kind as those in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, in which knights and fair ladies and dragons play the chief parts. It was published about the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Page 119

line 7. receipt book, a book in which they kept their recipes (or receipts).

16. Pascal (1623-1662), a great French writer on philosophy.

17. Molière (1622-1673), one of the greatest French dramatists. His plays are humorous and satirical.

Dante (1265-1321), the chief poet of Italy; author of the *Divina Commedia*.

Tasso (1544-1595), a great Italian poet who wrote *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, an epic poem of the First Crusade.

18. Goethe (1749-1832), a great German writer, best known perhaps by his drama *Faust*.

Schiller (1759-1805), the great German dramatist; *Wallenstein* and *William Tell* are two of his chief plays.

A less picturesque writer than Macaulay would simply have said: "The English women of to-day are familiar with French, Italian, and German".

Page 120

line 20. Jane Grey, who was Queen of England for nine days in 1553, studied Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Hebrew, and was an accomplished musician.

Lucy Hutchinson was the wife of Colonel Hutchinson, who took part in the great Civil War on the side of the Parliament. She was a cultured woman, and the *Memoirs* of her husband, written for the instruction of her children, are marked by simplicity and grace of style.

27. Hampton Court: Lely's portraits of the ladies of the court of Charles II are kept at this palace, which is on the banks of the Thames near London. See also page 138, l. 31.

29. the *Clelia* and the *Grand Cyrus*, two very lengthy and ill-constructed novels by Madeleine de Scudéry, a French writer. An English translation of the *Grand Cyrus*, published in 1653, fills nearly seven thousand pages. Pepys writes in his *Diary* for May 12, 1666: "At noon home, where I find my wife troubled still at my checking her last night in the coach in her long stories out of *Grand Cyrus*, which she would tell though nothing to the purpose nor in good manner".

Page 121

line 7. Homer and Photius stand for the earliest and latest of Greek writers. Photius was a Patriarch of Constantinople; who

wrote on theological and ecclesiastical questions. He died about 891 A.D.

14. Christ Church, one of the chief colleges at Oxford.

16. Epistles of Phalaris. Phalaris was a Greek who ruled over part of Sicily in the sixth century B.C. Some letters, 148 in number, that profess to have been written by him have been preserved, but it was proved by Richard Bentley, in 1699, that they were forgeries, written about the fourteenth century. The Christ Church men took the opposite view, but their main object appears to have been to make an attack upon Bentley, for which purpose the *Epistles* served as a convenient instrument. This was one of the most famous literary controversies on record.

23. Raleigh was the famous courtier of Queen Elizabeth.

Falkland was Secretary of State in the latter part of Charles I's reign.

25. Pitt was Prime Minister in the reign of George III; on his death in 1806 Grenville and Fox formed a government which was nicknamed the "Ministry of all the Talents". Windham held office as Secretary at War under Pitt and Grenville. Mr. Gladstone, in more recent times, is a notable instance of a statesman who was also a fine Greek scholar.

Page 122

line 10. mighty coalitions: the Triple Alliance, by which England, Holland, and Sweden agreed to unite in opposing Louis XIV of France, was broken up by the treaty of Dover, 1670.

11. dictated treaties; as, for instance, the Peace of Nymwegen, which was a series of treaties concluded between France on the one side and the United Provinces, Spain and the emperor on the other.

12. great cities and provinces, Strasburg, for example, had been seized in 1681, and the province of Luxemburg in the following year.

Castilian, Spanish, Castile being the name of the central part of Spain. It was the Peace of the Pyrenees, signed in November, 1659, that showed most clearly the superior power of France.

13. Italian princes, as in the case of the Doge of Genoa. See note on page 91, l. 19.

17. peruke, wig, which was worn long and flowing in the days of Charles II.

22. Racine, see note on page 94, l. 21.

23. Molière, see note on page 119, l. 17.

La Fontaine (1621-1695), a famous French poet whose *Fables* are among his best-known works.

24. Bossuet, see note on page 56, l. 9.

Page 123

line 8. The melodious Tuscan, Petrarch, the great Italian poet, who was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in 1304.

16. Donne, John (1573-1631), Dean of St. Paul's. Ben Jonson said that he was the best poet in the world for some things, but that he would perish through not being understood. He has perished, except for a few enthusiastic students.

Cowley, Abraham (1618-1667), was in his own time considered to be the greatest of all English poets, while Milton was for the most part neglected. Their positions are now reversed.

26. tragedy in rhyme: many of Dryden's plays, for instance, were written in rhymed couplets, but he afterwards turned to blank verse.

Page 124

line 20. out of the book of Nehemiah: in chapters x, xi, xii of that book, for example, are to be found a great number of names such as the Puritans were fond of giving to their children. The parish registers of the time show also many instances of such names as "Dust-and-Ashes", "Thankful", "Repent", and "Hold-the-Truth" being given to children.

21. Jack in the Green, one of the figures in the sports on May-Day. A lad was hidden inside a framework covered over with leaves and flowers.

34. Cowley, see note on page 123, l. 16.

Crashaw, Richard (1612-1650), wrote poems on religious subjects. When deprived of his fellowship (in 1644) he went to Paris and became a Roman Catholic. He was a friend of Cowley's.

35. Cleveland, John (1613-1658), a Royalist poet, who wrote some fierce satires and some fanciful love-songs.

Page 125

line 4. Supralapsarians, one of the extreme sections of the Puritans. They held the view that God not only foresaw the fall of man, but that He decreed it, with the purpose of bringing ultimate good out of it. Lat. *supra*, above; *lapsus*, fall.

26. The Cynics were a school of Greek philosophers who prided themselves on their contempt for the manners and opinions of other people. One of the most noted of them was Diogenes (d. 323 B.C.).

30. Shibboleth, test by which he distinguished those who were of his party. See *Judges*, xii, 6.

Page 126

line 8. Waller, Edmund (1605-1687), a graceful writer, but of "limited inspiration".

9. Cowley, see note on page 123, l. 16.

12. A mightier poet, John Milton (1608-1674); his greatest poem, *Paradise Lost*, was written after he had become blind. In their own time, however, Cowley was regarded as the greater poet of the two.

19. amaranth, a plant bearing richly-coloured flowers that last a long time without withering (Gk. *ἀμάραντος*, unfading; cf. Lat. *mori*, to die).

20. Butler, Samuel, the author of *Hudibras*. See note on page 118, l. 26.

25. Dryden, see note on page 128, l. 22.

26. Dufey, Tom (1653-1723), a dramatist and song-writer who was immensely popular in his own time. He was some twenty years younger than Dryden, but Macaulay is referring to a range of quality, not of time.

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line 10. the meddling fanatic, the extreme Puritan; not referring to any individual. The theatres were closed by the Long Parliament in 1642, and were not in use again till after the Restoration.

16. the Hope, also called the Bear Garden, stood on the south side of the Thames, not far from London Bridge. It was sometimes used for plays and sometimes for bear-baiting.

17. the Rose was close to the Hope. It was the theatre in which Shakespeare's earliest plays were produced.

21. personated by women: in Shakespeare's time the parts of female characters were acted by boys.

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line 10. Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-1681) was the greatest dramatist of Spain. Dryden in *An Evening's Love* was adapting a play of Calderon's, which, however, he had obtained through an intermediate French source; Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding* was taken from Calderon's *Dama Duende*; and Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* is partly based upon his *El Marstro de Danzar*.

12. Viola, the heroine of *Twelfth Night*, and one of Shakespeare's most beautifully drawn women. The dramatist Wycherley, in *The Plain Dealer*, first acted about 1674, has modelled the girl

Fidelia upon Viola, but Fidelia "is immeasurably and at all points inferior to the original" (W. C. Ward).

12. Molière's *Misanthrope*: the play referred to above is to a large extent based upon Molière's comedy *Le Misanthrope*. For Molière see note on page 119, l. 17.

13. Agnes: in *The Country Wife*, another of Wycherley's plays, Mrs. Pinchwife is a partial imitation of Agnes in Molière's *L'École des Femmes*.

22. Dryden, John (1631-1700), was the greatest literary man in England at the time with which this chapter deals. Some of his poems, notably *Absalom and Achitophel*, have reference to the political events of the reign. See note on p. 130, l. 25.

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line 5. Southern, Thomas (1660-1746) was a friend of Dryden. Pope wrote a couplet speaking of him as—

"Tom, whom Heaven sent down to raise
The price of prologues and of plays".

6. Otway, Thomas (1651-1685), wrote some very poor plays and some very fine ones. *Don Carlos*, "one of the best declamatory tragedies in rhyme" was produced in 1676. His best play is *Venice Preserved* (see page 94, l. 11 and note). He died in beggary.

7. Shadwell, Thomas (1640-1692), a popular dramatist of the time, who is now chiefly remembered by the ridicule heaped upon him by Dryden in *MacFlecknoe*:

"The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense".

The *Squire of Alsatia* was produced in 1689.

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line 25. *Absalom and Achitophel*, published in 1681, tells the story of the rebellion of David's son, given in the Second Book of Samuel. But the Bible story is only a very thin disguise for an account of the political events and persons of the time, the main point being an attack upon the party that was trying to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the crown. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of this party, appears in the poem as Achitophel, the Duke of Buckingham as Zimri, the Duke of Monmouth as Absalom, and Charles II as David. The poem met with immense success.

29. Exclusionists, the party of Shaftesbury (see above).

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Foot-note. In this Epilogue a conversation is supposed to be reported. One speaker has been urging that the Whigs should be

treated in a gentler manner. He speaks first, and the turns of the dialogue are indicated by the dashes:

"Lenitives . . . suit best with our condition;

—Jack Ketch [the hangman], says I, is an excellent physician.

—I love no blood—Nor I, sir, as I breathe;

But hanging is a fine dry kind of death"

The writer is, in short, recommending that his political opponents shall be hanged. Party feeling sometimes runs high at the present day, but verses of this kind would be promptly hissed from the stage. In those days they were applauded.

30. Verulamian doctrine, the teaching of Bacon, who received the title of Baron Verulam, and afterwards that of Viscount St. Albans. Verulamium was the Roman name of St. Albans in Hertfordshire.

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line 11. Polemarchs, &c. In his book, called *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), James Harrington, founder of the Rota (see page 133, l. 7) describes with considerable detail his ideal of a republic. In his pages the Lord Archon corresponds to what we should call the President of the Republic, the Lord Strategus to the Commander-in-Chief; the Polemarchs are the chief officers under him; the Phylarch is a section of a tribe entrusted with administrative duties; a Galaxy is a set of two knights and seven deputies appointed as magistrates of the tribe. The titles Polemarch, Archon, &c., were borrowed by Harrington from Athenian history.

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line 1. The Royal Society dates back in an informal way to 1645, when a number of men, interested in science, began to hold weekly meetings in London. Charles II became a member in 1661, and granted the Society a Royal Charter in 1662. Its records, however, date from 1660. To be a Fellow of the Royal Society is one of the chief distinctions open to men of science.

4. transfusion of blood, the operation of transferring blood from the veins of one living animal to those of another. The object is to restore vigour to one whose strength is exhausted.

5. ponderation of air, the problem of ascertaining the weight of air.

fixation of mercury, making mercury solid by combining it with some other substance.

7. the Rota was a club founded by Harrington, the author of *Oceana* (foot-note page 132), for the discussion of political questions. Its name came from an idea which was advocated by its members, that one-third of the Members of Parliament should retire every year—"rate out" by ballot as they expressed it—and be incapable of re-election for three years. Pepys (see page 21, l. 33) became a

member in January, 1660, and mentions in his *Diary* that he "gave eighteenpence to be entered of the club". It lasted only a few months.

16. Cowley, see note on page 123, l. 16. The allusion is to the death of Moses, as related at the end of the Book of Deuteronomy.

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line 10. Buckingham, Duke of (1627-1688), a member of the Cabal, and one of the most notorious men at the court of Charles II. He appears as Zimri in *Absalom and Achitophel* (see page 130, l. 25), where Dryden says that he—

"Was everything by starts and nothing long,
But in the course of one revolving moon
Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon".

11. Rupert, Prince (1619-1682), cousin of Charles II, took a prominent part in the Civil War (see page 23, l. 26). He spent the last ten years of his life in London, giving much of his time to scientific pursuits.

mezzotinto (now usually written mezzotint), a method of reproducing pictures by engraving upon copper. It was not invented by Rupert, but he improved upon the process previously used.

12. bubble of glass, called Prince Rupert's drops. They are made by dropping melted glass into water, so that it takes a kind of pear-shaped form. The thick part may be hit with a hammer without breaking, but the stem is easily broken, and the whole thing then falls to powder.

20. Gresham curiosities: at this time the Royal Society met at Gresham College, in Bishopsgate Street, and had a museum there.

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line 20. Evelyn, see note on page 105, l. 29.

22. Temple, Sir William (1628-1699), one of the chief statesmen of Charles II's reign. He had retired from public life a few years before the time dealt with in this chapter.

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line 1. Hippocrates lived about 400 B.C., and was the most famous physician of ancient times. He practised in the island of Cos, off the coast of Asia Minor, and wrote a number of works on medical subjects.

Galen, a Greek physician who was brought to Rome by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius about 170 A.D. He has left a large number of medical works, including some commentaries on the writings of Hippocrates.

3. police, see note on page 86, l. 19.

14. Sir William Petty (1623-1687) wrote some important works on Political Economy; his treatise on *Political Arithmetic* was published in 1691, after his death.

18. Boyle, Robert (1627-1691), has been described as "the son of the Earl of Cork, and the father of chemistry". He was a prophet who was not without honour in his own country. "No stranger of note visited England without seeking an interview, which he [Boyle] regarded it as an obligation of Christian charity to grant. Three successive kings of England conversed familiarly with him, and he was considered to have inherited, nay outshone, the fame of the great Verulam" (see page 131, l. 30). Students of physics will be familiar with his name as the discoverer of the relation between the pressure and volume of gases called Boyle's (or Mariotte's) law.

19. Sloane, Sir Hans (1660-1753), a physician. His museum and library, consisting of more than fifty thousand volumes and manuscripts, formed the nucleus on which the British Museum was built up.

20. Ray, John (1627-1705), a blacksmith's son who became an eminent scientist. He is considered to have laid the foundations of modern botany and zoology.

21. Woodward, John (1665-1728), is noted for his *Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth*. It will be noticed that the reference to his work is cautiously worded. His services to Geology do not stand on the same level as those of Boyle to Chemistry for example. It was a later investigator—William Smith (1769-1839)—who earned for himself the name of the "father of English geology".

24. Astrology, a very ancient pseudo-science, which professed to foretell events in the lives of men and nations by a study of the planets and stars. The observations which it involved laid the foundation of modern astronomy.

alchemy was in a similar way the forerunner of modern chemistry. It aimed at discovering a means of transmuting the less valuable metals into gold, and of lengthening human life to an indefinite extent.

26. Quorum: out of the justices of the peace in each place some who were specially fitted for the work used to be set apart and called justices of the quorum, and no business was to be done unless at least one of them was present.

33. John Wallis (1616-1703), a professor of Geometry at Oxford; he was one of the founders of the Royal Society.

34. Edmund Halley (1656-1742), a famous astronomer, whose observations of the great comet of 1682 led him to predict its return in 1759. It appeared as he expected. Halley succeeded Flamsteed as astronomer-royal.

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line 6. John Flamsteed (1646-1719) was the first to make a satisfactory catalogue of the stars; it was by means of his observations that Newton was enabled to complete his theory of gravitation.

12. Isaac Newton (1642-1727) discovered the law of universal gravitation, a discovery which opened the way for the great advance in astronomy that has been made since his time. The work in which the theory was expounded, *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, generally called Newton's *Principia*, was published in 1687.

24. Scotists, the followers of Duns Scotus (1265-1308), a famous theologian and philosopher of the Middle Ages. Great numbers of students came to his lectures at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne.

Thomists, followers of Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274), the greatest theologian of his times. His works still have great authority in the Roman Catholic Church. Scotus was the great critic of Aquinas, and the disputes of their followers seem often to have turned on very trivial points.

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THE FINE ARTS. Macaulay makes no mention of music in this section, where it might naturally have been looked for. It is one of the few things in which he appears to have taken no interest. In his journal for January 14, 1851, speaking of a visit to the queen at Windsor Castle, he writes: "At table I was between the Duchess of Norfolk and a foreign woman who could hardly speak English intelligibly. I got on as well as I could. The band covered the talk with a succession of sonorous tunes. 'The Campbells are Coming' was one." His biographer remarks in a foot-note: "This is the only authentic instance on record of Macaulay's having known one tune from another"; and one is inclined to wonder whether the Duchess of Norfolk may not have told him the name of it.

Music had been all but suppressed in England during the Commonwealth, but a fresh beginning was made after the Restoration. The choir of the Chapel Royal at Whitehall was reorganized, and among the boys trained there several rose to distinction. One of them, Henry Purcell (1658-1695), stands head and shoulders above the rest, and is indeed regarded as the greatest of all English musicians.

10. Christopher Wren, see note on page 75, l. 31.

19. Lewis, Louis XIV of France, who reigned from 1643 to 1715.

22. statuary, sculptor: the word is used in the same sense by Dr. Isaac Watts in his *Improvement of the Mind*: "It would be madness for a young statuary to attempt to carve a Venus or a

Mercury". At the present time the word is used to mean (1) statues in a collective sense, or (2) the art of making statues. The Latin noun *statuarius* means a sculptor.

31. Lely, Sir Peter (1618-1680), was born at Soest; but there are two villages of that name, one in Westphalia and the other near Utrecht in Holland. It seems that the latter was Lely's birth-place, and that he was a Dutchman and not a Westphalian, but the mistake does not affect the main point of the paragraph. Lely settled in London about 1643, became the most famous portrait-painter of his time, and was employed by Charles I, Cromwell, and Charles II.

33. Hamilton, Anthony (1646-1720), was the author of the *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, in which he gives an account of the court of Charles II as it was in 1662-1664. This work, by reason of its brilliant and witty style, has come to be regarded as a French classic, though written by a foreigner.

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line 10. Godfrey Kneller (1648-1723) was born at Lübeck (Germany), and came to London in 1674. When Lely died Kneller was appointed court-painter to Charles II, and received honours from each successive sovereign down to George I. His monument, with an inscription by Pope, stands in Westminster Abbey.

14. The two Van de Velde: William, the Elder (1611-1693), painted sea fights for Charles II and James II. His son William (1633-1707) was a really great painter of marine subjects.

18. Simon Varelst (1644-1721) was born at the Hague, but spent most of his life in London. He was a great flower painter, and when he was induced to try portrait painting he surrounded the portrait with fruit and flowers. Pepys writes in his Diary for April 11, 1669: "He did direct us to a painter . . . a Dutchman, newly come over, one Verelst, who took us to his lodging close by, and did show us a little flower-pot of his drawing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced again and again to put my finger to it to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He did ask £70 for it: I had the vanity to bid him £20: but a better picture I never saw in my whole life; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it." The name should be spelled 'Verelst'; it was originally Van der Elst. Macaulay has followed Horace Walpole in writing 'Varelst'.

19. Verrio, Antonio (1639-1707), came over to England soon after the Restoration. He was engaged in decorating Arlington's mansion at Euston (see page 33, l. 14, and note), and painted ceilings in Windsor Castle and Hampton Court.

30. Lewis Laguerre (1663-1721), named after Louis XIV, who was his godfather. He came to England in 1683, and among other

works painted a picture of the Labours of Hercules, at Hampton Court.

32. Cibber, Caius Gabriel (1630-1700), settled in London about the time of the Restoration. He was the father of Colley Cibber, the noted actor and dramatist.

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line 1. Bedlam, the great London lunatic asylum, founded in 1247. The name is a contraction of Bethlehem.

2. Gibbons, Grinling (1648-1721), was born in Holland, but his father was an Englishman. He did wood-carving at St. Paul's and at many of the mansions of the English nobles.

7. a great painter, William Hogarth (1697-1764) was a great painter, especially of satirical subjects, whose work closely corresponds in time with the reign of George II. But it is not unlikely that Macaulay was thinking of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), one of our greatest portrait painters, who had made a great reputation before the end of George II's reign.

9. sculptors: he is referring to John Flaxman (1755-1826), who is well known by his designs in illustration of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

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line 19. a famine price. In 1846, two years before Macaulay published his *History*, it had been decided by Parliament that the duties on corn imported from abroad should be removed. There was no marked change in the price of wheat for some time, however; but in recent years it has fallen considerably. In 1848 the price was fifty shillings per quarter; during the last ten years the average price has been twenty-seven shillings.

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line 31. manufacturer, operative, workman engaged in manufacture. This sense of the word was earlier than that in which it is now generally used, viz., 'one who employs others in manufacturing'. Adam Smith, in the *Wealth of Nations* (book iv, chap. 8), uses the word in both senses: "Our woollen manufacturers have been more successful than any other class of workmen in persuading the legislature that the prosperity of the nation depends upon the success and extension of their particular business". But in another part of the chapter he speaks of the "great master manufacturers".

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line 5. the state . . . has . . . interdicted. A series of Factory Acts has been passed from 1802 onwards, placing restrictions on the employment of children.

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line 11. one-thirteenth: the proportion appears to have diminished considerably since Macaulay's time, for the total number of persons in receipt of relief on January 1, 1903, in England and Wales was about one-thirty-ninth of the population. Macaulay, however, seems to be taking the figures for the whole year, and not for any given day, and something must be allowed for this way of estimating the proportion.

25. nine hundred thousand: the sum spent in relief of the poor is now more than twelve million pounds.

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line 15. Ormond, Duke of (1610-1688), was a leading supporter of Charles I in Ireland, and was raised to the dukedom by Charles II.

16. Clayton, see note on page 77, l. 11.

18. police, see note on page 86, l. 19.

23. one . . . in forty: in 1902 it was one in fifty-six.

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line 22. Stafford, Viscount (1614-1680), a Roman Catholic peer who was executed on the evidence of Titus Oates (see page 112, l. 18, and note).

24. Russell, Lord William (1639-1683), took a leading part in advocating the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. He was executed on a charge of being concerned in the Rye-House Plot (see page 59, l. 15, and note).

32. Bridewell was once a palace, but was handed over to the city of London by Edward VI to be used as a House of Correction. It stood between Fleet Street and the Thames, and was removed in 1864.

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line 1. pressed to death, a cruel form of punishment known as the *peine forte et dure*. Heavy weights were placed on the body until death ensued.

18. the Hindoo widow was required by the custom known as *suttee* to burn herself when her husband's dead body was cremated. The custom has been prohibited by law, and has now practically died out.

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line 19. police: used in the same sense as before. See note on page 86, l. 19.

APPENDIX I

MACAULAY AT THE CAPE

It will be of interest to South African students to note that Macaulay is one of the few distinguished men of letters who have set foot in that country. The Suez Canal was begun only a few months before Macaulay died, so that his voyage to India and back was necessarily made by way of the Cape. He sailed from England on February 15, 1834, in the *Asia*, accompanied by his sister Hannah. We sometimes speak of ocean travelling to-day as an expensive luxury, but it was much more expensive, and no doubt less luxurious, in those days. Writing to his sister in the November before they sailed, Macaulay says: "I reckon that we can bring our whole expense for the passage within the twelve hundred pounds allowed by the Company. My calculation is that our cabins and board will cost £250 apiece. The passage of our servants, £50 apiece. That makes up £600. My clothes and etceteras . . . will, I am quite sure, come within £200. Yours will, of course, be more. I will send you £300 to lay out as you like. . . . I reckon my servant's outfit at £50; your maid's at as much more. The whole will be £1200." It was the custom then for passengers to furnish their own cabins. The ship-owners provided simply the "accommodations" as indicated in the advertisement quoted below. So when Macaulay went to look at the *Asia* in December, he interviewed the captain on this point and reported to his sister. "He advised me strongly to put little furniture into our cabins. I told him to have yours made as neat as possible, without regard to expense. He has promised to have it furnished simply, but prettily,

and when you see it, if any addition occurs to you it shall be made." They do not appear to have touched at the Cape on the outward voyage, but sailed direct to Madras, where they arrived on the 10th of June. They spent three-and-a-half years in India, and during that time Hannah Macaulay was married to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Trevelyan. They all three left for England in the *Lord Hungerford* on the 17th of January, 1838. She was a sailing vessel, for steam navigation was then in its infancy. Writing from Calcutta on December 18, 1837, Macaulay says: "Our passage is taken in the *Lord Hungerford*, the most celebrated of the huge floating hotels which run between London and Calcutta. She is more renowned for the comfort and luxury of her internal arrangements than for her speed. As we are to stop at the Cape for a short time, I hardly expect to be with you till the end of May, or the beginning of June." The "huge floating hotel" was a vessel of 750 tons burthen; one wonders what Macaulay would have thought of the great ocean liners of to-day, often running to ten or twelve thousand tons. The passage from Calcutta to Cape Town occupied two months. In those days, besides the *Government Gazette*, there was a newspaper published in Cape Town three times a week called *The South African Commercial Advertiser*. On Wednesday, March 7, 1838, the following advertisement appeared:—

FREIGHT AND PASSAGE TO LONDON.



THE fine Ship "LORD HUNGERFORD,"

Capt. FARQUHARSON, R.N., burthen 750 Tons, is hourly expected, and will have some of her superior Accommodations vacant, and room for Freight.

For particulars, apply to

BORRADAILES, THOMPSON, & PILLANS.

Eleven days later the *Lord Hungerford* arrived, sailing into Table Bay on Sunday, March 18th, as we learn from

the *Advertiser* of the following Wednesday, where the following notice appears among those of vessels arrived:—

18.—*Lord Hungerford*, Ship, C. Farquharson, from Calcutta 17th Jan to London. Cargo sundries.—Passengers, Mesdms. Thompson, Jennings, Trevillyan, and Newmarch; Misses Jeremy and White; Hon. J. B. Macaulay, Capt. Farquharson, Lieuts. Shortrend and Farquharson, 3 children, 13 invalids, 5 women, and 7 children. Brings a few letters.

Borradailes, Thompson. & Pillans, Agents.

The list of passengers was apparently made in a hurry, if one may judge from the spelling, and the omission of the name of Mr. Charles Trevelyan, who was accompanying his wife and brother-in-law.

The *Lord Hungerford* stayed but a short time in Table Bay, but it was long enough to allow Macaulay to see something of Cape Town and its surroundings. There is, however, only a passing reference to it in his letters. Writing from Rotterdam on October 9, 1844, he says: "After a very pleasant day at Antwerp, I started at seven yesterday morning by the steamer for Rotterdam. . . . We passed Dordrecht. . . . Parts of it reminded me of some parts of Cape Town." If his ship had arrived at the time indicated by the advertisement, Macaulay would have met Sir John Herschell, who had been spending four years under the shadow of Table Mountain, making his famous survey of the southern skies; but he had sailed in the *Windsor* a week before Macaulay reached Cape Town. On the morning of the day on which the *Lord Hungerford* proceeded on her voyage the news reached Cape Town of the massacre of Pieter Retief and his band by Dingaan. The *Advertiser* announced it in the following paragraph:—

DREADFUL MASSACRE OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS.

By the mail which arrived this morning from the northern frontier, we have received the appalling intelligence of the massacre of PIETER RETIEF, together with 270 persons, comprising men, women, and children!

It was on Wednesday, March 21st, that the ship sailed from Cape Town, and it was June before they reached home. Sir George Trevelyan, Macaulay's nephew and biographer, who was born a few weeks after they arrived in England, has kindly sent a note adding a few interesting touches to the facts already given in the Life of his uncle. He says: "We have nothing about Macaulay's visit to the Colony except the letter of October, 1844, to which you refer. Neither he nor my father or mother kept a diary during the voyage. They had a terrible time after leaving the Cape. They were six months from Calcutta to England. . . . When the pilot came off to them, the passengers called to him to ask whether the queen was yet married.¹ . . . Macaulay read *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* on board,² and my father told me that he wrote the *characters* of some leading actors for his contemplated history." Besides reading these books, and, of course, many others, Macaulay set himself to master German on the voyage. In the letter from Calcutta quoted above he says: "I intend to make myself a good German scholar by the time of my arrival in England. I have already, at leisure moments, broken the ice. I have read about half of the New Testament in Luther's translation, and am now getting rapidly, for a beginner, through Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War*. My German library consists of all Goethe's works, all Schiller's works, Müller's *History of Switzerland*, some of Tieck, some of Lessing, and other works of less fame. I hope to despatch them all on my way home." And there need be little doubt that he did.

¹ Queen Victoria was not married until February, 1840.

² He had read them many times before.

APPENDIX II

THE TEXT OF THE HISTORY

Mention has been made in the Introduction of the great pains that Macaulay took with what he wrote for publication, particularly with the *History*; how he would rewrite sentences and recast paragraphs, or even chapters, in order to make them clearer or more coherent. This was before the work was published. But after the first four volumes had appeared, and had achieved such a remarkable success, he made, in 1857, a thorough and minute revision of the whole work, as far as it had gone. On comparing the first with the later editions one finds evidence of the care with which this was done. Some sentences are omitted, others are added, many are rewritten so as to give a happier turn to a phrase, or a more exact statement of fact; and smaller points, such as the use of capitals and stops, and the spelling of certain words, have also received attention. A few examples of these alterations are given below, but it should be said that some of them were introduced into the text before 1857.

FIRST EDITION

If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare.

Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably.

He was, indeed, prouder of his ragged gown than his superiors of their lawn and of their scarlet hoods.

LATER EDITIONS

He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare (p. 51, 52).

Hardly one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably (p. 53).

He took, indeed, more pride in his ragged gown than his superiors in their lawn and their scarlet hoods (p. 57).

FIRST EDITION

. . . the remembrance of unrequited sacrifices and services had been festering during a quarter of a century.

Had Monmouth really been sent for to the Hague?

No parliament had sate for years.

. . . of political philosophy.

To that period belong the chemical discoveries of Boyle, and the first botanical researches of Sloane.

One after another . . .

. . . had been induced by English liberality to settle here,

Verrio's chief assistant and successor, Lewis Laguerre . . .

Even the designs for the coin were made by French medallists.

Nothing has as yet been said . . .

LATER EDITIONS

. . . the remembrance of unrequited sacrifices and services had been festering during twenty years (p. 91).

Had Monmouth really been summoned from the Hague? (p. 91).

No Parliament had sat for years (p. 92).

. . . of political philosophy. No kingdom of nature was left unexplored. To that period belong the chemical discoveries of Boyle, and the earliest botanical researches of Sloane. It was then that Ray made a new classification of birds and fishes, and that the attention of Woodward was first drawn towards fossils and shells. One after another . . . (p. 136).

. . . had been tempted by English liberality to settle here, (p. 139).

Verrio's assistant and successor, Lewis Laguerre . . . (p. 139).

Even the designs for the coin were made by French artists (p. 140).

Nothing has yet been said . . . (p. 140).

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